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ABSTRACT

This volume presents the 1968 collection of working papers in the field of teaching English as a second language (TESL). It includes discussions of several practicalities in the field of English language teaching such as choosing literature and short stories for non-native speakers, criteria for selecting textbooks, educational problems involved in TESL, language learning among the Navaho, English language teaching at home and abroad, TESL in a planned multilingual situation, and free recall of orally presented sentences as a test of English competence. Several articles discuss applied linguistic theory on such diverse topics as the role of rules in second language learning, teaching pronunciation, and a rationale for teaching a second language. (VM)

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Workpapers

IN

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PREFACE

These workpapers might more accurately be called "workingpapers." They are not finished. They are distributed in this format in order to obtain feedback from as many people as possible. We here want to thank those who commented on the 1967 set of Workpapers for their many apt criticisms; and we hope that the readers of this second set will again assist us by sending comments on the articles.

We are very happy to include in the 1968 Workpapers three articles written by teachers loosely associated with our ESL group. Dr. Len Lanham of the University of Witwatersrand and Dr. Bonifacio Sibayan of the Philippine Normal College have been visiting professors on our staff this year. Dr. Bradford Arthur is on the 'regular' Department of English staff, though he teaches a section of our literature for ESL teachers course, 109K.

As with the 1967 set, we can claim no overall pattern or unity for these workpapers. They were written by eleven people with widely different backgrounds, experiences, and interests. But, we believe, that this diversity adds to the utility of the set because people of equally diverse interests will be receiving them. That we are all dedicated to improving methods on language acquisition is the main thing we have in common.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance of Earl Rand of our ESL group for seeing these papers through publication in this current format. Linda Jorth typed the final copy from which this is photo offset.

The Staff

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TESL IN PLANNED MULTILINGUALISM

Bonifacio P. Sibayan

The teaching of English as a second language (TESL) in multilingual countries where English is the chief language of instruction (LI), results in what I would like to call "planned multilingualism." Planned multilingualism is frequently incorporated in the national policy of such countries as, for instance, in the Philippines with over eighty languages, Nigeria with about two hundred, and India with more than four hundred. In these countries, various languages are used officially and semi-officially, such as the Philippines where Pilipino, English, and Spanish are official languages, and the vernaculars occupy a semi-official status because they are used as the LI in the initial stages of the child's education and because literacy in them is recognized for the exercise of suffrage. Planned multilingualism demands an approach to TESL that embodies a great deal, perhaps more than current TESL thinking and programs are prepared to provide.

Objectives of TESL

In terms of their educational objectives, we can identify two rather different groups who learn a second language: 1) those who learn a second language as a means of getting an education, i.e., learning the substance of subjects in education, and 2) those whose main motivations come from various other reasons.

Ideally, the language of instruction in the schools should be the child's native language. People who do not have to study in a language that is not their own in order to get an education are fortunate indeed. For them, learning a second language falls under the second objective.

Unfortunately this is not possible in many of the developing and emerging countries of Asia and Africa. In the Philippines and Nigeria the substance of education, especially higher education, has to be given in a second language. TESL in these countries falls under the first objective - a means to an education.

The importance of this distinction in objectives becomes crucial in terms of the quantity and quality of materials and methods, the spacing of subject matter in language teaching, the intensity and level of achievement demanded of students and teachers, and the attitude towards the various languages students must use and work with.

Fortunately, the attention being given to the teaching of second languages, especially English, has reached such proportions that the number of people and the quantity of materials produced is a cause for rejoicing. TESL is becoming a legitimate profession and absorbing career for many people.

However, most of the thinking and research in TESL has been for the purpose of accomplishing the second objective, not as a means of getting an education. What is needed is serious thinking towards a theory of, or to use a more modest term, an approach for, using the language to teach the content of education, the first objective.

If the child learns a second language without worrying about using it for getting the substance of his education, I think the materials and methods are not as critical as they are when English is used as LI. Current methods and materials are sufficiently adequate for achieving the second objective but not for meeting the requirements of English as LI in a second-language situation. This is said not by way of disparagement but to call attention to the very special need of many people. They need a tool (in this case, English) to get the education which they cannot get through their native language. For many millions of people this is the reason for TESL.[1]

The demand for English as LI becomes even more acute when seemingly conflicting interests and objectives are intertwined with the use of several languages in planned multilingualism. For example, the Filipino, like the Nigerian and many others, wants to learn science and technology. But the Filipino seeks national identity with another language, Pilipino. And Pilipino is now taught as a subject on all levels of education from the primary grades through the university. Aside from Tagalog or Pilipino, the more than eighty Philippine languages may be listed in two groups: 1) those used as the LI in the initial stage of education (at present the LI in the first two grades may be the local language) and 2) those not used as an LI.

In countries that are engaged in planned multilingualism, the teaching and the use of various languages are imposed by many needs and many motivations, some political, some economic, and some that I would like to call psycho-political or nationalistic.

Various Vernaculars and TESL

Elsewhere[2] I have suggested that a vernacular may be used as LI if 1) it has a written literature, 2) reference materials are available in it, and 3) that it is employed in mass communication media such as magazines, newspapers, radio, television, etc. There must be assurance that the child will be able to retain his newly developed literacy and the foregoing uses will make continued literacy at least possible. After appraising all the arguments advanced about what is worthwhile in education, I think that the main difference between the educated and the uneducated in the modern sense is the ability to read and write and the retention of this ability on to adulthood. The educated retain and expand formal education through the written word.

It would seem futile, therefore, if the education given in a mother tongue provides those skills in a language for which there is no opportunity to read further even though it may endow the student with the skills necessary to continue getting a modicum of information. It will do a student little good to be able to read a language in which there is nothing (or nothing worthwhile) to read. Experience has shown this situation to be a prompt cause for a reversion to illiteracy.

The Philippines offers an example. Of the more than eighty languages, Pilipino more than satisfies the above three criteria. Seven others meet the criteria to some extent: Cebuano, Ilocano, Panay-Hiligaynon, Bikol, Samar-Leyte (Waray), Pampangao, and Pangasinan.[3]

The problem of using the other seventy-two vernaculars which do not meet these criteria may be solved in one of three ways: The children may be instructed either in 1)English, 2) Pilipino, or 3) the local trade language, if there is one, such as Ilocano in northern Luzon and Cebuano in many parts of the Visayan islands and Mindanao. The choice may be 1) specified by the parents in consultation with the school authorities, 2) determined solely by the school authorities, or 3) dictated by politicians as one aspect of integrated national policy. If Pilipino is to be used, it will be for patriotic or psycho-political reasons; and if it is English (which many parents seem to prefer), it will be because English can be used for a rapid movement into the mainstream of government, business, commerce, industry, and technology. If the trade language is chosen, it will be for such reasons as the availability of materials (terminology for expressing concepts in arithmetic, for example) and teachers who know the language.

There is another important question that concerns the use of the vernaculars as LI: How many years of education should be given to the child in his vernacular before he switches to English as LI? The present practice is two years. Tentative studies conducted by the Research Division of the Philippine Bureau of Public Schools in eight linguistic areas demonstrate that pupils are not literate in their vernacular even after they have almost completed the fourth grade of school. By this time they have had two years with the vernacular as LI, two years of English as a subject and two years with English as LI, and in the non-Tagalog speaking provinces four years of Pilipino as a subject. If the aim of using the vernacular as LI is to assure that the student retains his literacy, then the present practice does not seem to be the solution. It has been suggested in some quarters that one way of assuring the child literacy in his vernacular is to continue instruction in some subjects such as health and character education in his vernacular after the switch to English instruction in other content subjects has taken place. This scheme, however, needs experimental proof.

Problems of Transition from Vernaculars to English

It is the observation of teachers, supervisors, parents, and those who have had the opportunity to have intimate contact with Philippine education that the almost abrupt use of English as LI in grade three is responsible for some very difficult problems. This period of transition, i.e., transition from the use of the local language as LI to English as LI is one of the most difficult periods in the entire education process.[4] Approximately fifty per cent of all pupils who enter the first grade drop out after the fourth grade. I have a deep suspicion that a great percentage of the drop-outs is due to the trauma that is caused by the demand on the child to learn and discuss his arithmetic, science, social studies, and other subjects in English after less than two hundred hours (counting days lost due to absence and natural causes, such as typhoons) of exposure to the language under a non-native speaker of English. The two hundred hours is the total of classroom work thirty minutes a day, five days a week, forty weeks a school year for two years or two and a half hours a week for eighty weeks. This would be like asking an American child to be taught in English during the first two grades with French as a subject under the same conditions and then after two years switch to French as LI in all subjects with English used only occasionally to explain concepts that are difficult to understand.

What are some of the implications on TESL of the foregoing facts? To answer this question a discussion of some of the problems may help.

One of the most important and difficult problems faced by the teacher using English as LI is this: The language (vocabulary, style, etc.) being learned in the language class and the reading matter that is being read in the reading class are both very different from the kind of language that is used for teaching and discussing the various content subjects. The English used and required in the content subjects is much more difficult than the English being learned in the language and reading classes. In other words the language skill being taught the child in his English class cannot catch up with the demands of the content subjects. Under these circumstances, it is not uncommon for those teaching the content subjects to ask in exasperation, "What are you learning in your English class?"[5]

An important problem, therefore, in the use of English as LI is to teach a kind of English that is capable of serving as LI. This is a big demand. There seem to be two alternatives: teach the content subjects in very simple English or teach the kind of English that is used in the various content subjects. Either alternative may require the analysis of the English constructions that are used in the various texts written by persons who perhaps were authorities on the subject, but certainly not on the complexities of teaching the English language.[6]

To confound the difficulty of TESL in planned multilingualism, the development of the national language for psycho-political or nationalistic purposes has given the impression to many people (and sad to say many of those in education) that using a foreign language as the main instrument for one's education is not patriotic. This has produced an ambivalent attitude towards English. This ambivalence has resulted in such notions as it is not loyal to use English too often outside the classroom when Pilipino or the local language could also be used. Many of the people who hold this notion realize that English is the language for higher education. To learn a second language requires a great deal of practice so it is not difficult to see the effect of this attitude on the learning of English.

The problems indicated above are important and difficult, and they must be answered.

Present Materials and Methods

Present methods and materials seem inadequate. In practically all books or materials for the teaching of English as a second language, attention is addressed to such points as the structure of English with the use of so-called everyday activities such as going to the corner store to buy something, telling what one does in school, at home, at play, etc. These may be good for many of the possible objectives of second-language teaching, but they are not adequate for discussing such important classroom topics as why one must pay taxes or for learning arithmetical processes.

There seems to be no adequate materials and method for teaching English so that it may be used to understand and discuss the content subjects. And yet *this is the central objective of learning English as LI, the main objective for using English in non-English speaking countries where the local language cannot do the job*.

The movement in the learning of English to the point where it can be used as an effective LI must be rapidly accomplished, especially in a system which provides only ten years of school to prepare a student for college or only the first four years for basic citizenship training. Many think this is unrealistic, but the number of years, which is already short compared to the U. S. twelve in a first language, is dictated by economic and political realities that cannot readily be changed.

But then maybe we are "flogging the wrong horse!" It is unfair to expect educators alone to solve a problem which the politicians and economists helped create. It is possible that the solution does not lie alone in the change of texts or language class but change in the learner and in the society as has been suggested by some who learned a second language and succeeded in getting an education. If so, then TESL programs must not only incorporate the contributions of linguists and educators but those of socio- and psycho-linguists who will assist in indicating the steps to take to change attitudes in language acquisition and education. Necessarily, the movement will need the contributions of political scientists and economists who will not only indicate the directions that a people should take but help put up programs that are more realistic in terms of the length of time that a people struggling with the use of a borrowed language should send their children to school.

I must conclude by saying that I do not have the answers to the questions that I pose in this paper. We who use a second language as one of the most important means of survival in a modern and fast changing world seek the answers. I am sure that others similarly situated will welcome suggestions for solutions.

Footnotes

[1] Few languages in developing countries can be used for higher education. Most languages are either not written or if written are not used for scientific or original research. For detailed discussion see Charles A. Ferguson, "The Language Factor in National Development," in Frank A. Rice (ed.) Study of the Role of Second Languages. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1962, pp. 8 - 14.

[2] See Maximo Ramos, Jose V. Aguilar, and Bonifacio P. Sibayan, The Determination and Implementation of Language Policy (PCLS Monograph No. 5). Quezon City, Philippines: Alemars-Phoenix, 1967, pp. 138 - 159.

[3] For a full discussion see Bonifacio P. Sibayan, "Language Policy, Language Engineering, and Literacy," in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 8: Linguistics in Oceania. 's-Gravenhage: Moulton. (forthcoming).

[4] It is possible that this partly explains the results of the Rizal experiment on second language teaching where of three groups, the group taught in the vernacular during the first two years of school and in English in the third and fourth grades had the poorest achievement both in language and in the content subjects. The group instructed in English from the very start to the fourth grade had the best achievement, and the group instructed in Pilipino (their native language) from the first to the fourth grade had the second best in achievement. For detailed results see Frederick C. Davis, Philippine Language Teaching Experiments (PCLS Monograph No. 5) Quezon City, Philippines: Alemars-Phoenix, 1967.

[5] Professor J. Donald Bowen, who over a five year period had the opportunity of observing many classes in the Philippine public schools, thinks that the language (English) classes can be taught more efficiently. He says that he has not seen a language class that was "moving at anywhere its maximum speed." This may point to the need for improving the quality of teachers or teacher education.

[6] Two teams of graduate students at the Philippine Normal College Graduate School are now engaged in a study of the language of arithmetic and science with the hope of providing useful information for those who prepare texts for use in the present Philippine context. But the work has not been progressing as designed, and one probable reason is that the subject has been very much more difficult than the students and advisor thought it would be.

FREE RECALL OF SPOKEN SENTENCES AS A TEST OF ESL COMPETENCE

L. W. Lanham

In developing tests of proficiency in spoken English for use in African schools in South Africa, Traill and Southey (Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg) have found that an ability to recall orally presented sentences, is more revealing as a test than any other they have been able to devise. The tests were applied to high-school children who had completed 8 years of schooling (and 8 years of English as a second language) and results seem to show that the extent to which the meaning of sentences of varying structural complexity can be remembered is an accurate measure of general competence in English. The test has high reliability and is easy to administer and score.

The technique can be used to test achievement and proficiency, and would seem to have diaghostic value in exposing the deficiencies of the internalized grammar of African-English, in particular lacunae which are so difficult to determine from performance in the normal type of testing. At high-school and university levels in southern Africa, large English vocabularies often go with a very limited control over the transformational component which underlies the great variety of surface structures in English. These lacunae are often well hidden by avoidance in encoding, and by reliance on context when decoding. Error analyses of the examination scripts of African students have revealed deviances in the institutionalized grammar of African-English and, at the lower levels, grosser, more individualistic, errors due to mother-tongue interference. Error analysis brings to light the sins of commission;equally important for the teacher and examiner is a knowledge of the sins of omission. Studied avoidance is part of performance in defective African-English. The defective grammar of English is further obscured by a spurious encoding in which memorized stretches of English, culled from the writings of others, are re-used in ostensibly original writing. (A university lecturer in English was recently able to retrieve 6 complete lines of Romeo and Juliet from an English essay.)

Traill and Southeys' tests were inspired by psycholinguistic experiments conducted by G.A. Miller and others (see bibliography) and rely on the assumption that lack of knowledge of the rules of formation underlying syntactically complex sentences hinders comprehension, and that this will be reflected in the response of a testee asked to recall a sentence. From the results of the tests it is clear that, in decoding, the 8th graders tested all made some attempt to process the sentences in terms of their version of the grammar of English; i.e. there was no attempt to memorize the sentences without decoding (the testees were told that it was a test of their ability to "understand and remember English sentences"). There was evidence too that comprehension included some attempt at de-transformation, i.e. a reduction to base structure with "transformational footnotes". This is shown by responses such as: 1. "John's refusion..." and 2. "John's refuser..." for the nominalization present in the subject of the stimulus sentence: "John's refusal to listen to the teacher worried the other children." The nominalization identified in the decoding process was remembered in recoding, but the testee failed on the low level rule which associates -al (rather than -ion) with "refuse". In 2 the testee failed to distinguish agentive from action nominalization.

The transformations incorporated in the stimulus sentences are shown in the following set:

1. My father does not like Tony to play football. It causes trouble in our family.
2. My father's dislike of Tony's football playing causes trouble in our family.
3. Trouble in my family is caused by my father not liking Tony to play football.
4. My father does not like Tony to play football which causes trouble in my family.

These sentences were interspersed among other different sentences which incorporated the same transformations.

As an example of the potential of these tests to reveal the nature of the false grammar, all testees in response to 1 above failed to identify "Tony" as the subject of "play". Answers included the following: "My father dislike to playing football...; My father not like football..." This failure to comprehend the subject - predicate relation between "Tony" and "play" apparently points to an area of English grammar which has not been internalized. The use of the present participle in the marked infinitive phrase "to playing football" is a frequently recurring error of a different type and is a product of the false grammar of English. The former error occurred in the decoding process; the latter in the recoding process when the testee drew on his version of English grammar to write down his response.

The stimulus sentences given above were included in the first attempts at developing the recall test. Certain defects became apparent in the results of the test: (a) Testees should not feel constrained to respond with a single complex sentence and instructions should clearly indicate that 2 or more simple sentences are acceptable. Errors in decoding may be obscured by attempts to write a complex sentence. (b) In 1 - 4 above the same basic form appeared in 4 stylistically different sentences. Increasing familiarity with that form provided too many clues as to the underlying relations between the parts of the sentences. It is preferable, therefore, to use different selections from the lexicon in the stylistic variants of the base structure.

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READING LITERATURE AND LEARNING A SECOND LANGUAGE

Bradford Arthur

I

Whereas pattern practice, transformational and substitution drills, conversations and dialogues are all accepted parts of the standard fare for linguistically oriented ESL programs, literary texts as part of an ESL program are not to the taste of all teachers. Those who have tried to use literature to help teach English as a second language have not always been successful. In the 1968 TESOL convention, the discussion of literature and second language teaching centered not on how literature should be used but whether it should be included at all. Some of the teachers who have tried to use literature to teach language skills have published their grief. Many more have cried on the shoulders of their colleagues. Tales of success are few. And yet, a feeling persists that the study of literature should have considerable value for second language learning if only the right texts could be found, if only they could be taught in the right way, and if only literature could be used properly.

Use is really the key word here. Literature in the schools must serve some useful purpose; it must be a means towards some end that the teacher or the community or the society considers important. Students in a drama course are assigned Thornton Wilder's Our Town because it illustrates certain trends in the development of modern American drama. Learning such trends is important, and Wilder's play provides a means towards that end. Students learning English as a second language might also be assigned Wilder's play. Such students need examples of colloquial American speech in order to perfect their own diction. These same students should also know something about the culture of American small towns. Wilder's play serves both these ESL goals.

There is, of course, another reason for teaching literature. Most teachers would mention, perhaps even stress, the importance of instilling in their students a sense of the literary, or artistic, or humanistic value of the assigned play or story. But, interestingly enough, literature, even when it is viewed in this way, tends to be a means for attaining or achieving something else. When asked to define literary value, the teacher might explain that literature gives one awareness and human insight. Then, awareness and human insight are the subjects being taught. Literature is useful as a means, perhaps the only means, for helping students to attain such awareness or insight.

This emphasis on the usefulness of classroom literature reflects a more general conviction about the value of literature. So firm is the general conviction that reading should serve some other goal, that people feel embarrassed, perhaps a little bit guilty to be reading something, even literature, for the fun of it. They need the assurance of the courts that the novel they are reading has redeeming social importance. If other assurances fail, they can always call the drug-store novel "escape reading" or "bedtime reading." It is helping them to escape for a while from their problems, it is helping them to relax, it is helping them to fall asleep. As long as it helps to do something useful, guilt feelings are pacified, and reading can procede. And reading may be fun too, but certainly no one reads just for the fun of it.

Reading for fun may be tolerated after working hours, as a way of relaxing after more useful activity, but such reading cannot be condoned in the classroom. Education is a process of preparation. Its ultimate objectives are to be realized outside the school yard. Consequently, any classroom activities, including the reading of literature, that are undertaken for their own sake, as an end in themselves, are suspect. A teacher certainly wants his students to enjoy the literature they are reading, but they must be learning something from it too.

There is, however, another side to this coin. Reading literature for the fun of it, as an end in itself, for enjoyment--perhaps these commonplace expressions obscure the complexity of the experience they describe. Behavior that is not oriented toward some future goal requires a complete immersion in the present moment, a state in which the moment is its own justification, its own reason for being. Intellect and emotions become so concentrated on the story that for a time the reader may be unaware of the world and of himself existing outside the story. For a child, this experience may involve a total identification with some character in the story. An adult may experience the world created in the story without necessarily assuming some role in it. His experience is more intellectual than the child's but not necessarily less intense. This sort of total emotional and intellectual involvement in literature leaves no room for external goals. Reading is an end in itself; the act of reading is its own justification.

This capacity to evoke total involvement distinguishes writing called literature from other types of writing. The literary quality of writing is, at least in part, the quality of the reader's response. Literature is not simply a shelf of books but those books read and experienced with total involvement. There is a difference between reading literature, that is, reading books that contain literature, and reading those same books as literature. Teachers assign their students literature to read, but because students are forced constantly to be aware of various external goals as they read, it is virtually impossible for most students to read those assigned books as literature.

In general, teachers teach their students about literature, or use literature to teach something else, but they do not teach literature; they do not encourage or lead their students to read litarature as literature. Perhaps for this reason students generally make a distinction between the novels and plays and short stories and poems called Literature that they read in school (and never again) and the stories that they tell or read or listen to over and over again, on their own, because they like to--just for the fun of it.

II

Teachers of English as a second language may recognize in their own students this same failure to associate the works of literature read in the classroom with stories and other forms of literature read for pleasure. These teachers may deplore the position in which they find themselves, but, they may argue, nothing can be done about it. The job of a second language teacher is to teach his students how to get along in another language and in the society speaking that language. For a teacher to include in his class anything that might stand in the way of getting this primary job done as quickly and thoroughly as possible would be for that teacher to shirk his responsibility to his students. Literature can be part of the curriculum only if it helps to achieve these primary aims.

In theory, at least, ESL teachers have generally agreed that literature can aid language learning in three different ways. First, literature helps build vocabulary. The vocabulary used in written English and especially in literature is many times larger than the vocabulary common in speech. If a student's training is limited to conversation practice and to other forms of drill designed primarily to improve his proficiency in spoken English, that student will not have an opportunity to hear, let alone to master, the majority of English words.

In addition to these differences in vocabulary, certain syntactic patterns occur more frequently in written than in spoken English. Any teacher who has taught composition to native speakers of English is aware of his students' tendency to switch to the passive voice when they pick up their pencil. Subordinate clauses also occur more frequently in written English. Some authors may use subordination within subordination so extensively that their sentences become virtually unintelligible as spoken English. Such complexity of sentence structure presents far fewer problems for a reader, who is able to go back over what he has read and try to make sense out of sentences that confused him the first time through. Certain stylistic word order inversions also occur exclusively or almost exclusively in written or literary English. A poet might write, "Into the valley of death rode the six hundred." But he would almost certainly say, "The six hundred rode into the valley of death."

Thus literature may serve in an ESL program by helping students to master the mechanics of vocabulary and grammar. But some teachers have used literature in a third way: to help students of English as a second language understand the societies in which English is spoken. By reading the literature of the society, a student is able to get below the superficial artifacts and to grasp some of the deeper psychological forces that motivate behavior within the society. Characters in novels and stories behave according to the social norms of the author and his audience. We admire the bravery that Hemmingway's heroes exhibit because we have been brought up in a society where that sort of bravery is praised. Television advertisers are well aware of the cultural assumptions we bring to the TV screen. They have discovered that we are more likely to buy their toothpaste or smoke their cigarette if they can convince us that by doing so we will be achieving social status, physical attractiveness or something else that our society considers valuable.

An ESL teacher using literature to teach vocabulary, sentence structure, or culture is obviously using literature to serve non-literary ends. If purists object to this practice, they must, at least, admit that the ESL teacher is in good company. Throughout the history of English literature the authors themselves have used their writing to serve nonliterary ends. In his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Edmund Spenser explains that he is writing The Faerie Queene as a sort of sugar coating for the moral, religious and philosophical message that he wants his audience to swallow. Milton explains that he has written Paradise Lost, "to justify the ways of God to man." In Gulliver's Travels, Swift is certainly as much a critic of his society as he is a creative writer. In our own time, Ayn Rand has used her novels as a vehicle for the expression and dissemination of her philosophy. Other contemporary writers have used literature to support civil rights movements, to argue for or against our involvement in Vietnam, to arouse the public to an awareness of the horrors of a nuclear holocaust.

Writers have frequently used literature for nonliterary ends, but writers, at least good writers, have realized that if their writing is to succeed as a philosophical, political, or moral statement, it must first succeed as literature. A boring story is not likely to teach anything. On the other hand, stories that succeed in fascinating or entertaining or arousing the emotions of an audience may also succeed in changing public opinion or arousing public indignation. Nineteenth century Americans despised the cruelties of Simon Legree and were touched by the gentleness and kindness of Uncle Tom. This same audience came more and more to question the morality of slavery. Americans in the mid Twentieth Century read of the naiveté and stupidity of the ugly American, and many began to question the wisdom of American foreign policy in Asia.

Second language teachers might do well to apply this same principle in their own teaching: if literature is to provide a useful vehicle for the teaching of second language skills it must first succeed as literature. After all, literature is not the only vehicle for introducing new vocabulary words, new sentence patterns, and a knowledge of culture. Expository, descriptive, factual prose could accomplish these same goals. Indeed nonliterary prose would certainly accomplish these goals more effectively than literature that the students face with dread or indifference. Literature has a place in the ESL program only if it teaches better than other forms of prose. Moreover, it seems probable that literature is only going to teach better if students are responding to the literature as literature. Consequently, what seems at first to be a desirable side benefit of using literature--the pleasure that the students may derive from involvement in the reading--turns out to be a necessary prerequisite for the use of literature.

It follows from the conclusions reached in the preceding paragraph that if literature is to be used in a second language program, the goals to be achieved through the use of literature must be compatible with the reading of that literature for pleasure. If the student cannot read the literature for pleasure and at the same time use the literature as an aid to language learning, then the use of literature should be abandoned. This conclusion seems natural, indeed, it seems inescapable, and yet it may lead to a dilemma.

What are some of the assumptions that an author makes about his audience? Obviously, among other things, he assumes that they will be able to understand the literal meaning of the words that he is using. To be sure, the reader may from time to time run across an unfamiliar word, but this should not slow him down. He should not have to keep running to the dictionary or to footnotes to find out what the story is all about. Such continual interruption of a story would destroy the impact of that story, the fun of reading it. For the same reason, the author assumes that his reader will be able to understand the structure of sentences used in the story. The reader must not struggle with the mechanics of the sentences. In fact, if literature is to be effective as literature, the reader must not even be aware of the mechanics of language structure. The art of creative writing is the appearance of artlessness. More subtle, but nonetheless important, are the assumptions that the author makes about his reader's understanding of culture. Unless the reader is aware of the cultural assumptions underlying the behavior of characters in a story, he will probably misunderstand and place the wrong significance on this behavior.

A modern reader may be caught up in this same sort of misunderstanding when reading stories from past cultures. Consider, for example, the concluding portion of the Old English poem Beowulf. Beowulf, the warrior hero, king of the Geats, has finally killed the dragon that was threatening his kingdom. However, in the struggle he himself has been mortally wounded. He lies outside the entrance to the dragon's cave and makes his last request: he asks a young warrior to go into the cave and to bring out the treasures that the dragon has hoarded inside. The warrior obeys; Beowulf gazes upon the treasure and dies in peace.

This final scene may distress the modern reader. Beowulf should not have been so concerned about the dragon's treasure just when he himself was about to die. He should have had sense enough to know that you can't take it with you. Beowulf, whose behavior was almost always exemplary, here seems to be falling short of his own heroic standards. His final request seems greedy and petty.

Yet, this condemnation of Beowulf is based on the assumption that treasures and wealth must have had the same value for Beowulf and his society that they have in American society today. In fact, this is not the case. In Anglo-Saxon England, treasures had a symbolic value which they no longer have today. The giving and receiving of treasure was an overt manifestation of the bond between a king and his warriors. Unless this bond was maintained the kingdom and its people were doomed. They would be overrun and either captured or forced into exile. Some of the most moving passages in Old English poetry describe the king giving rings and other treasures to his hearth companions. The phrase, "the giver of rings," stood for the king in Old English literature. And so Beowulf, realizing that he was dying, wanted some assurance that his kingdom and his people would not die with him. He asked to see the treasure, the symbol of the union among warriors which would perpetuate his kingdom after his death. Thus, Bewoulf's last request should not be interpreted as greedy but instead should be taken as symbolic of Beowulf's undying concern for his people. Unless we understand the cultural assumptions behind this poem our reaction to the poem is distorted.

In order to read a story with pleasure, to read it as literature, the reader must understand the meanings of the words the author is using, the structure of the author's sentences, and perhaps most important, the cultural assumptions implicit in the story. But if the reader understands all of these things, then the story will be of no value to him as a language learning device. A story won't teach vocabulary unless it uses words the reader doesn't already understand. Similarly, a story can teach sentence structure only if that story introduces sentence structures with which the reader is not familiar. Finally, literature increases knowledge of culture only if that literature provides examples of cultural assumptions unfamiliar to the reader. Using literature as part of a second language learning program seem to reduce, perhaps even to preclude, the possibility that this literature will ever succeed as literature.

Even if this conflict of interests is not absolutely necessary, it certainly does frequently exist. Over and over again, ESL teachers complain of the frustrations encountered in trying to generate students' enthusiasm for the literature they are reading. Many teachers have abandoned the use of literature and have substituted other forms of nonliterary, expository prose. Still other teachers have tried to resolve this dilemma by using various simplified texts of literary classics. Unfortunately, such texts frequently fail to preserve the literary value of the original. The plot may be preserved, but it is not just the plot that readers respond to. The storyteller must bring the story to life.

This discussion has led to a pair of conclusions which, taken together, seem distressing. First, literature can be used to teach something else only if it first succeeds as literature, and second, literature as it is used in second language learning programs generally does not succeed as literature. Indeed, this failure seems due in part to the ESL goals which literature is being used to serve.

III

Teachers of the English language who are also teachers of English literature are not likely to abandon their second love lightly. They may ask whether the conclusions reached at the end of the last section are inevitable. Assuming that literature must succeed as literature in order to be of any value for language teaching, is it not still possible to find some value for literature in an ESL program which is compatible with its success as literature?

If the dilemma presented in Section II were inevitable, we should expect that children would find a reaction to literature as difficult as do second language learners. After all, children are still learning their own language. They are not aware of more than a very small portion of the words in their language. They still find many complex sentence structures puzzling, and they themselves use only relatively simple sentences. Moreover they are still in the process of acculturation. They are not as yet fully aware of the values which they will have to adopt as full-fledged adult members of their society. Consequently the same sorts of barriers stand between them and a response to literature as stand between the second language learner and his response.

Obviously, however, children do respond to literature as literature. The impressive body of children's literature in English attests to the existence of a demand which this writing meets. Anyone who observing a child listening to a story cannot fail to note that the child is indeed responding to the story he is hearing as literature. Children generally express their emotions more overtly than adults. They scream with delight; they sob in grief. After the story is over, they swagger off in imitation of the hero.

Some of the conclusions drawn from an observation of children responding to literature may provide clues as to how literature can be used in second language teaching. First, children need not understand the story they are hearing entirely in order to respond to it, if "understanding" means understanding all the words that are used. Words are only one clue that the child has as to the meaning of the story. The child is also looking at the pictures that go with the words. One indication of the importance of pictures for a young child's understanding of literature is the different response a child gives to those pages in a book which contain pictures and those pages which do not. The waxing and waning of the child's interest and enthusiasm are directly correlated with the presence or absence of a picture on the page being read. Children must be well into their school years before they can do entirely without this visual support for the verbal presentation of the story. Pictures provide invaluable clues; so does the tone of voice that the reader is using. In many cases, for example, the tone of voice indicates to the child the attitude he is to take toward some action being portrayed. The villain cheats the villagers. The voice expresses disgust. The hero and the heroine get married. The voice expresses happiness and contentment.

Another conclusion can be drawn from the observation of children listening to stories: the child's total immersion in the story situation encourages rather than discourages his learning from the story. The more involved the child becomes in the story as literature the more likely that child is to recall the plot, perhaps even to recall individual words or names which are in the story. The child gives the story intense concentration. Such concentration seems to be more conducive to learning than does a forced, conscious effort to learn or to remember.

Learning from literature is also encouraged by the fact that a child's response to a story as literature can be repeated over and over again. The child hears the story, enjoys it, and asks to hear the story again. If the story is good literature, the child may enjoy it even more the second time than the first. The tired parent is forced to read the same story over and over and over again until, perhaps, he makes a mistake--misreads a word or inverts two words. The child may then speak up and correct his parent's mistake. The child has memorized the story that he is hearing, but not by consciously attempting to memorize. Remembering is simply a by-product of the intense concentration given to the repeated reading.

The child responding to a story as literature remembers that story, including the words and sentences through which it is told, both because he gives the story intense concentration and because this concentration is sustained through repeated readings. The value of a story that the second language learner is willing or anxious to hear over and over again is obvious. One of the most serious limitations on the length of a foreign language lesson is the fatigue or boredom that sets in after the student has been forced to repeat a lesson or to listen to this continual repetition. This sort of fatigue is perhaps the primary limiting factor on the length of language laboratory sessions. Literature, if it is received as literature, might provide a corpus of English sentences that are both repeatable and memorable. The student is willing to listen to the story several times and his interest in the story helps him to remember what he's heard.

But perhaps enthusiasm for the use of literature in teaching English as a second language is premature. The value of literature in first language learning is well attested and obvious; that literature can be given a comparable value in second language learning is not equally obvious. The two types of learning have many things in common, but there are also many differences. A child learning his first language is immature enough mentally to accept with enthusiasm stories expressed in very simple sentences and a limited vocabulary. Adult readers who are learning a second language might not respond to stories couched in very simple words and sentences with the same enthusiasm. In addition, a vast body of literature appropriate for children exists in English. Virtually no literature has been written for the foreign learner of English. The ESL teacher must search for texts which will be both interesting for his students and understandable to them. Where such texts don't exist the teacher may fall back on simplified versions of stories. However, the teacher has no assurance that these simplified versions are capable of evoking the same sort of literary response as the originals.

It would be rash to conclude that the study of literature should definitely be given a place in any ESL program. However, evidence in favor of including the study of literature is strong enough to encourage future attempts to resolve present difficulties. Moreover, any future attempts should begin with the assumption that if literature is to be useful in an ESL program, the teacher's primary goal must be to see that his students are reading this literature as literature, for its own sake. Based on this assumption, the following guidelines are offered as hypotheses to be tested both in controlled experiments and, more informally, by teachers in the classroom.

1. The teacher must begin by finding a story his students can respond to as literature. To do this, he may have to look beyond the standard lists of literary classics. Literature, as the term has been used here, is not an absolute label attached to certain books. It described a certain kind of response from readers, and books that elicit that response may vary from one group of readers to another. The teacher must search for clues as to what stories will evoke this response in his particular group of students. He might, for example, observe what books his students read in their own language or what TV programs they watch.

2. The environment in which the literature is to be read should be made as relaxed and noncoercive as possible. If a student is forced to sit down and listen to a story in spite of any desires he may have to the contrary, he is not likely to respond well to the story. The more relaxed and informal the situation in which the reading occurs, the more likely students will be to give a literary response to the story. Novels and other stories are not at their best when read or heard from behind a desk.

3. The number of nonverbal clues to meaning that accompany the story should be maximized. The story should have pictures and plenty of them, even if the students are adults. For children the story might also be accompanied by various sound effects. Ideally, the story should be read

aloud by the teacher since the teacher's tone of voice provides another nonverbal aid to understanding. Literature has generally been introduced in an ESL program as an aid to teaching reading. Consequently, students have had little or no exposure to literature in English until they were well along in their mastery of the language. If literature is presented orally, it can be introduced at an earlier stage of language learning.

4. In any good ESL textbook, rigorous control is imposed on the rate at which new material is presented to the student. This same kind of control should exist when the teaching of a second language is done through literature. The student must not be overwhelmed by a story which includes many new vocabulary words and at the same time several new grammatical structures. If the story is used to teach grammar or vocabulary, certainly this same story should not present the student with new or unfamiliar cultural assumptions. Perhaps, at least in the earlier stages of language learning the stories used to teach the student should be stories with which he is already familiar. Translations of popular stories from the student's native language into a reasonably simple English version may provide appropriate second language learning stories, provided the literary value of the story is not lost in the translation. Countries where English is an official second language (such as India, the Philippines, and various African nations) may produce a body of literature written in English. This literature allows the ESL teacher to introduce students to the English language without, at the same time, introducing British or American culture.

5. The teacher should minimize the amount of explanation that he gives to accompany the story. Ideally, the story should explain itself. Certainly the teacher should avoid interrupting the story to explain what is happening, or to define words. A joke which has to be explained, simply isn't funny. For the same reason, students are not going to respond to stories which are continually interrupted by explanations. A more effective way of defining new words would be to use the words in a context that makes the meaning clear. This context might include pictures as well as words.

6. Reading a story should not be followed immediately by a test on the reading. Students who are aware of this impending test, will be preparing for the test rather than enjoying the story. They will be concentrating on the wrong thing and consequently defeating the purpose of using the story.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Clifford H. Prator

1. Background

1.1. This paper is intended as an inventory of the vital and intricate problems which present themselves in the educational system of a country when English is used as the medium of instruction for students who do not speak that language as their mother tongue.* Presumably, similar difficulties may be involved in the use of French or any other world language under like circumstances as the educational medium. The list of problems could have been made almost indefinitely long; the criteria for inclusion were urgency, reality, and intellectual challenge.

1.2. Fortunately, it does not appear necessary for present purposes to attempt to draw up a full typology of bilingual and multilingual situations. It has become increasingly apparent in recent years that such situations -- and the problems to which they give rise -- may vary radically from country to country and even from region to region. It would indeed be difficult to formulate valid generalizations applicable simultaneously to the teaching of Malay in North Borneo, of Swahili in East Africa, of German in Switzerland, of Spanish in Bolivia, of Portuguese in Angola, of French in Haiti and Canada, of English in Wales, Ceylon, the Philippines and the American Southwest.

1.3. The basic factors in a given bilingual situation, and hence the most important variants which determine the nature of the problems involved in the use of a second language as medium of instruction, are thought to be:

1. Age at which the child first becomes acquainted with the second language (or L2 as it will be referred to henceforth): before entering school, in the elementary grades, in secondary school.
2. Relative prestige of mother tongue (L1) and L2.
3. Need for L2 and uses to which it will be put.
4. Strength of general community and national support for L2.
5. Linguistic relationship between the two languages.

1.4. However much these factors may vary around the world, they appear to be relatively stable in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa which are the focus of our attention. By and large the child has only a very slight and casual exposure, if any, to the L2 before entering school; certainly he almost never has any experience in speaking it. He begins to study it as a separate subject or even to use it as the instructional medium at the very outset of his schooling. In the eyes of the world, and usually also in the opinion of his countrymen, his L1 lacks prestige, since its literary tradition is short and relatively little of practical value has been written in it. On the other hand, the L2 is regarded as the indispensable element in social advancement, the passport to economic success, and the key to all knowledge. It is the channel through which almost all the substance of education must be made to pass, the language of business and government, the medium of communication with the outside world. Politicians in sub-Saharan Africa do not fear to champion more widespread instruction in the L2, which has not become the butt of zealous nationalists there as it has in much of Asia. In fact, in many of the emergent countries of Africa, English or French is regarded as one of the strongest tools of nationalism, and the multiple indigenous languages are equated with tribalism. Because of the general determination to achieve rapidly a higher standard of living, there is widespread community support for the languages of technology and economic planning. This support is not undermined by the little-realized fact that, with minor exceptions, L1 and L2 are totally unrelated, and that a wide gulf separates the cultures of which the two tongues are an expression. To pass from the one language to the other is, as Sapir puts it, like passing from one geometrical system to another.

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1.5. There is one other element of crucial importance to an evaluation of the problems involved in the teaching of an L2 in most African countries today: the compulsion which is felt almost everywhere to expand and extend educational facilities at an unheard-of rate as the first step in national development. The new political leaders have made their constituents tremendous promises of more schools and teachers. Attempts will be made to fulfill these pledges regardless of the cost in terms of improvisation and lowered standards of quality. It seems inevitable that the result will be an exacerbation, not only of the problems of language instruction, but of the entire range of educational problems.

1.6. In the inventory which follows, items have been arranged according to a nine-point scheme, at the risk of over-systematization:

Administrative problems, policy (Section 2),
Administrative problems, facilities and personnel (3),
Instructional problems, attitudes (4),
Instructional problems, content (5),
Instructional problems, method, within language class (6),
Instructional problems, method, in other classes (7),
Instructional problems, linguistic (8),
Research problems (9),
Co-operation between host countries and resource countries (10).

2. Administrative problems : Policy

2.1. The temptation to decide questions of educational policy on political grounds alone. The determination of the proper roles of L2, national language (if any), and L1 in the school system can be based on the study of educational needs and experimentation with various formulae.

2.2. The temptation to launch educational reforms before the resources for carrying them out are available. The results of introducing a new L2 into the curriculum or beginning the study of a familiar L2 at a different grade level may be to reduce instruction to a delusion unless the reform includes realistic plans for training teachers and supplying adequate textbooks.

2.3. The undeniable inefficiency of attempting to learn the medium and content of instruction simultaneously. Are the advantages of using an L2 as the medium sufficiently great to compensate for the resultant slow rate of acquiring the subject matter of elementary education?

2.4. The values which may derive from the use of the mother tongue of each community as the instructional medium. Does teaching through the L1 promote better grasp of subject matter, faster thinking, longer retention, larger vocabulary, more power of expression, more interest and spontaneity, closer relationships between teacher and pupil?

2.5. The gap between the ability of the bilingual child to handle English as an L2 and the ability of the British or American child to use the same language. Must this gap fatally widen with time, or can it be closed?

2.6. The influence of technology and increased international communication on education. Have the known disadvantages of educating a child through an L2 been reduced in importance in recent years by certain basic historical developments: revolutionary technological advances recorded in a literature too vast to be translated, the demand for rapid material progress in all countries, the shrinking world and multiplying means of universal communication, the increasing substitution of international for national effort?

2.7. Using the L1 to teach certain subjects. In situations where the L2 is not the universal medium of instruction, which subjects can most advantageously be treated in the mother tongue?

2.8. The low economic and social status of teachers. If a student goes on to higher education and acquires a superior command of the L2, he usually feels forced to give up any interest he may have had in teaching and to go into government or business.

2.9. In-service versus pre-service training of teachers. Teacher-training facilities are necessarily limited. Would it not be more economical to emphasize the preparation of new teachers rather than the re-education of those already practicing the profession?

2.10. The continued use of expatriate teachers. How rapidly should expatriates be replaced by nationals? Is it not highly desirable to retain some expatriates indefinitely as language teachers?

2.11. The specialist L2 teacher in the elementary schools. Success in language instruction depends, above all else, on the quality of the model which the teacher sets for his pupils. If, in each elementary school, the teacher with the best command of the L2 specialized and taught the language to several different classes, the composite model would be greatly improved. But there are formidable administration difficulties involved.

2.12. The conflicting need for regional teaching materials and for inexpensive materials. Pupils cannot afford expensive textbooks, yet the best texts are normally those which are produced for a specific country or even a specific region. Hence they cannot be widely sold and tend to be expensive.

2.13. Relapse into illiteracy. Literacy attained through an L2 tends to be quite impermanent in a society whose members usually communicate with one another through another language.

3. Administrative problems : Personnel and facilities

3.1. The lack of trained teachers. This is certainly the most serious and is likely to be the most persistent of the problems associated with the teaching of an L2 in Africa.

3.2. The need for a specialized type of teacher-training college. The typical European or American institution for preparing teachers, geared as it usually is to the requirements of a monolingual society, is not a good model for its African counterpart. The African institution must devote a much larger portion of its attention to matters of language instruction.

3.3. Facilities for preparing trainers of teachers. No African university is at present equipped to prepare top-level specialists in second-language teaching.

3.4. The lack of interest in and facilities for studying African languages. More effective instruction in the L2 depends largely upon better insights into the interference caused by the various L1's.

3.5. The need for close collaboration between Departments of African Studies or African Languages, English (or French) Departments, and Institutes of Education. The traditional departmentalization, which has shown little evidence of breaking down, makes it very difficult to come to grips with the basic problems of teaching in the L2.

3.6. The need of Ministries of Education for specialized language supervisors. At present, it seems that most supervisors are generalists.

3.7. The vested interests of textbook publishers. Such interests may inhibit attempts to produce texts locally and discourage ministries from giving full backing to production projects.

3.8. The need for tests which really measure language proficiency. Most of the current examinations measure knowledge about the L2 and its literature.

3.9. Centralized preparation of visual aids. It is asking too much of the average over-worked, ill-equipped individual teacher to expect him to prepare from his own resources the large numbers of pictures and illustrations which are essential for the effective teaching of a European language in African elementary schools.

3.10. The use and maintenance of electronic and mechanical aids. Nowhere is the potential usefulness of slide projectors, films, radio, phonographs, tape recorders, language laboratories, teaching machines more obvious than in Africa: to make up for the scarcity of teachers, to compensate for their relative lack of training, to supply good L2 models, to help bridge the gap between cultures. Yet nowhere else are the difficulties more formidable: lack of electricity, rapid deterioration of material, unavailability of repairmen and extra parts.

3.11. Opportunities for speaking and hearing the L2 well spoken outside of class hours. The L2 will never become a truly effective means of communication if experience with it is limited to the schoolroom.

4. Instructional problems : Attitudes

4.1. The preservation of the pupils' pride in their own culture. This pride may be undermined when pupils find that little use is made of the L1 in school. What compensatory influences can be brought to bear, and how?

4.2. The production of deracines. In extreme cases, education through an L2 may result in such denationalization as to make graduates incapable of functioning as effective members of their own society.

4.3. The realization on the part of teachers that each language is embedded in a matrix of culture. Teachers without the necessary insights, while attempting to present through the L2 the indigenous culture of which the L1 is the only fully adequate expression, may reduce the L2 to a nearly meaningless gibberish.

4.4. Antipathy toward the L2 left over from the day of colonialism. Independence should make it possible to consider the language as a means of communication rather than to distrust it as a weapon for achieving domination.

4.5. Unwillingness to make proficiency in the L2 a requirement for moving up the educational ladder. Why should it seem unpatriotic to insist on an adequate control of the medium of instruction? This attitude begins as an administrative problem and ends as an instructional problem, particularly in colleges and technical schools.

4.6. Dislike of school engendered in pupils by the great linguistic demands of a bilingual situation. It appears certain that many highly educable and intelligent children find it unusually difficult to learn a foreign language.

4.7. The lack of confidence, on the part of both teachers and pupils, in their ability to express themselves orally in the L2. Such lack of confidence is by no means universal but, where present, may have a highly deleterious effect on methodology and the presentation of subject matter.

4.8. Over-confidence in verbal learning. In a situation where the referents of words tend to be vague or lacking, the temptation is very strong to content oneself with the symbols without attempting to comprehend the realities behind the symbols.

4.9. The African universities' lack of interest in studying the English language descriptively. The traditional conviction that only the literature and the historical development of the language are worthy of the attention of a university's Department of English is quite unjustifiable in Africa.

5. Instructional problems : Content

5.1. The treatment of the pupils' own culture. What types of information lead to the best understanding of the local and national environment?

5.2. The inclusion of information about the culture of which the L2 is an expression. Intelligent use of the medium of instruction requires a knowledge of the culture which produced it. What types of cultural data are most valuable for this purpose, and when should they be presented?

5.3. Control of cultural information. It seems ridiculous to ask young Ugandans to recite "Bonny Bobby Shaftoe," or Liberian children to memorize poetry as alien to their surroundings as "Casey at the Bat," yet it is through the study of such material that the culture behind the L2 can become understandable. The solution seems to lie in controlling the introduction of new cultural items just as vocabulary and structure are controlled. The rate of introduction should be constant but never too rapid, or else the abundance of new cultural items will cause frustration similar to that which results from meeting too many new words in rapid succession.

5.4. The balance between nationalism and internationalism. What information should be given regarding the mechanisms through which nations are beginning to learn to work together, and when?

5.5. The lack of continuity between education and life. In the largest sense, education is a continuous process, begun in the home, in the L1, furthered in school, completed after graduation by a lifetime of experiences also largely in the L1. Instruction through an L2 inevitably breaks the continuity. Only by a wise choice of subject matter can the unfortunate consequences of the break be minimized.

5.6. The optimum time for beginning study of the L2. Is an initial period of instruction in the L1 an advantage or a waste of time? If the L2 is postponed, does the greater maturity of the pupils when they begin its study enable them to learn it more rapidly?

5.7. The child who drops out of school early. It appears that functional literacy through a foreign language is not usually achieved in less than five years. Is the child who leaves school before completing the fifth year to be regarded as expendable? Are such children to be largely debarred from the content of education because of the necessity for concentrating upon the acquisition of the medium?

5.8. Specialized types of English. Do the special languages used for certain specific purposes vary sufficiently in grammatical structure and vocabulary to justify variations in the content of the English course?

5.9. Phonetic training in elementary schools. By and large, very little attention is paid to pronunciation in L2 texts used in Africa. Thus, at the time the child's organs are most flexible and his speech habits are being set, no means of mastering the sound system is offered him other than haphazard imitation of a frequently defective model.

5.10. Attention to reading speed and degree of comprehension. It appears that success in school depends, more than on any other factor, on the student's ability to read rapidly with a high degree of understanding. The bilingual child inclines to be a notoriously slow reader.

5.11. The place of other foreign tongues. In multilingual situations there is often great pressure to include a second foreign language in the curriculum of even the elementary schools. There must surely be limits, however, to the linguistic miracles which children can be asked to perform.

5.12. Language versus literature. Existing educational traditions and local pride often lead to the remarkable spectacle of students' being asked to understand Chaucer and Shakespeare before they can pronounce a simple sentence intelligibly or express elementary thoughts in writing.

5.13. The relationship of the study of literature to the development of language ability. If it is unwise to use literary models for language instruction, then there may be less room for literature in the curriculum than has usually been supposed.

5.14. Historical versus contemporary literature. The schoolman's predilection for studying literature historically may be to some extent incompatible with the needs and limitations of a bilingually educated child.

5.15. The choice of literary texts: belletristic or sociological? There can be little doubt that a child has a relatively limited ability to appreciate the stylistic qualities of literature in his L2 and a relatively great need to understand the culture of the society which produced the literature.

6. Instructional problems : Method, within language class

6.1. The idea that the L2 can be effectively taught by methods appropriate to the L1. This point of view is implicit in many official courses of study and in the classes of many teachers, especially expatriates. The two methodologies may converge at the upper levels of instruction but should probably never meet.

6.2. The tendency to plan elementary courses in terms of vocabulary development. A language is primarily a system of vocal symbols and of devices for indicating grammatical structure; it is only secondarily a collection of words.

6.3. Insufficient emphasis on oral work, especially in the early grades. The bilingual child usually has to learn the grammatical and phonological core of the L2 in school. The monolingual child has mastered the core of his L1 before going to school, and can properly devote most of his time in the classroom to becoming literate.

6.4. The difficulty of providing a suitable speech model. In order to avoid setting up a spiral of progressively less accurate imitations of imitations, it seems essential to provide in the classroom opportunities for hearing the L2 spoken with native accuracy.

6.5. The fullest possible use of tape and disk recordings, radio and television broadcasts, and visits by native speakers of the L2. How can these be made an integral part of the class routine?

6.6. The pressure to begin reading before there is real readiness for reading. How much oral experience with the L2 is needed before the child is prepared to cope with the secondary symbolization which the written language constitutes?

6.7. The provision of reading materials in sufficient quantity. In a society where the tradition of reading outside of school hours is not strongly developed, methods should be adapted so as to encourage a greater volume of silent reading within the classroom.

6.8. The necessity for a great deal of choral work. Time will simply not permit giving each child the requisite experience in speaking the language if pupils always recite individually. Yet choral recitation can degenerate into the drilling of errors if teachers are unskilled in methods.

6.9. Noise. Choral work and the light and open construction of tropical schools do not combine easily.

6.10. The reconciliation of mimicry-memorization drills with true communication. The most economical way of mastering language patterns is probably by repetitive drill in which most of the words are placed in the pupil's mouth, but mastery can be demonstrated only when the pupil himself summons up the appropriate words and patterns to communicate his thought.

6.11. The reconciliation of linguistic controls with freedom of expression. The teacher strives to forestall errors by limiting structure and vocabulary, yet the child should be encouraged to talk about his own interests.

6.12. The confusion of knowledge about language with ability to use the language. It has proven impossible to demonstrate any correlation between the ability to describe the grammatical features of an L2 and the ability to use it effectively. In spite of this, a very large amount of class and examination time still goes into talking or writing about the language.

6.13. Use of the L1 in the L2 class. Again a balance is needed: the L1 should not be totally banished, since it may be the most economical way of clarifying the meaning of certain expressions in the L2; but teachers and pupils should not yield to the temptation to lapse into the mother tongue whenever their limited command of the L2 makes expression difficult.

7. Instructional problems : Method, in other classes

7.1. The need for all teachers to be language teachers. The effect of the language class can be largely nullified or greatly reinforced by what happens in other classes. The subject-matter teacher, especially if he is not also the language teacher, must try to see to it that all school activities contribute to a mastery of the L2.

7.2. The postponement of subject matter. Especially in the earlier grades, it will be necessary at times to sacrifice content in the interests of acquiring the medium of instruction. Knowledge cannot be successfully commumicated until the channel through which it must flow begins to function.

7.3. The vocabulary connected with specific school subjects. In any subject-matter class, time must be devoted to teaching any special terminology which treatment of the subject may require. The language class has other, more basic, responsibilities.

7.4. Structural patterns in the subject-matter class. It hardly seems justifiable, however, to go as far as some enthusiasts have gone and to demand that the discussion which takes place during the social studies period, for example, should be given the form of repetitive drill on a limited number of structural patterns.

7.5. Teaching pupils to think. Thinking of some types may be possible without language, but there can be little real doubt that imperfect control of language inhibits thinking. The subject-matter teacher must be aware of the patterns and limitations which the pupil's experience with the L2 impose on his thinking.

7.6. The besetting sin of mere parroting. When thinking is difficult yet a response is demanded, human beings fall back on quoting the thought of someone else, often with incomplete comprehension of the meaning. Instruction through an L2 makes simultaneous but conflicting demands for an unusual amount of verbal repetition and an extraordinary effort to encourage original thought.

7.7. The over-formalization of classroom procedures. Genuine spontaneity and informal personal interaction are at a premium in a class taught through an L2.

7.8. Conflicting methods of teaching reading. Typically the L1 is spelled more phonetically than English or French. There may thus be a temptation to teach pupils to read in the L1 by sounding out syllables and in the L2 by noting the configuration of entire words. Is this combination of methods harmful?

8. Instructional problems : Linguistic

8.1. The need for insight into the nature of linguistic interference. The most important acquirable difference between a superior and an ordinary L2 teacher is probably the former's comprehension of the exact nature and scope of the difficulties his pupils must overcome. A large proportion of these difficulties arise through attempts to transfer the patterns of the L1 to the L2.

8.2. The choice and sequencing of the language items to be taught. The content of the L2 course is probably best thought of as a sequence of sentence patterns arranged according to functional load, logical considerations, and the needs of the classroom.

8.3. The weighting of items. In determining the amount of emphasis to be placed on particular sentence patterns or phonological features, it is important to assess the difficulty of each item for speakers of a given L1. Weighting and sequencing are two separate problems.

8.4. Understanding the role of the suprasegmental phonemes: stresses, pitches, junctures. These are an essential element of the phonology of the language. Furthermore, stresses, pitches, and junctures are combined in various prosodic patterns which are as much a part of grammar as are endings, function words, and word order.

8.5. The choice of the intonation patterns to be taught. Certain of these patterns are basic components of the grammar and demand full treatment. Others merely indicate the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying. It is often difficult to achieve agreement as to the precise meaning of the latter; they are probably not yet well enough understood to be included in a practical course of study.

8.6. The conflict between intonation and tone. A special problem arises in teaching intonation patterns to children whose L1 is tonal, as are almost all African languages. These pupils will feel that the pitch of the individual word is important rather than the over-all distribution of pitches.

8.7. The stressing of words in connected speech. Dictionaries show which syllable of a word should be stressed. Existing materials, however, supply little information regarding the equally important matter of the placement of stresses in sentences and in fixed combinations of words such as wake up, apple pie, and apple tree.

8.8. The choice between literary and colloquial language. Contracted or full forms? Whom or who? Should the student be taught to speak "like a book"? Should various levels of language be taught?

8.9. Cultural conflicts reflected in language. If a given form of address is appropriate in the L2 but the parallel expression in the L1 is improper under the same circumstances, should the L2 form be used regardless of the impropriety, or should linguistic authenticity be sacrificed?

8.10. The choice between various regional forms of the L2. Should the model be Received Pronunciation, because of its "greater prestige"? Should it be General American, because of its "wider use"? Is it conceivable that an international pronunciation could be developed, aimed at wide intelligibility but unlike any existing model?

8.11. The tendency to make a jargon of the L2. Bloomfield defines a jargon as "nobody's native language, but only a compromise between a foreign speaker's version of a language and a native speaker's version of the foreign speaker's version and so on, in which each party imperfectly reproduces the other's reproduction."

8.12. The temptation to lower instructional aims deliberately. This is seen particularly in the teaching of pronunciation and is often justified as a concession to the appearance of a local variety of English. Does the lowering of aims serve any useful purpose? Can a pedagogically valid variety of a language arise in a society which does not use that tongue as its normal means of communication? Should the schools teach Ghanaian English? Liberian English? Soudanese English? Zulu English? Ibo English? Ewe English? Etc., etc., etc.

8.13. The delusion of abstract standards of correctness. Why not forget about the imitation of foreign models - which is, anyway, offensive to national dignity - and just teach "correct" English or French?

9. Research problems

9.1. Almost every problem enumerated in the foregoing sections can be considered as an area in which research would be desirable. It would hardly be profitable, then, to go through this material and abstract still another long list. An excellent inventory of research needs, up-to-date and reflecting the combined judgment of a large group of well qualified scholars, is appended to the *Report of the Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language Held at Makerere College, Uganda, from 1st to 13th January, 1961*.

9.2. To the author, it appears that top priority should be assigned to linguistic research. We need fuller information of all types about the African languages: their identity, number of speakers, structure, and interrelationships. The more we study English itself, the more important the gaps we perceive in our knowledge of it. Our efforts to contrast L1's and L2's and to apply the insights thus gained to the instructional process are still in their infancy, as are our attempts to discover a scientifically based hierarchy of difficulty among the kinds of linguistic items to be taught.

9.3. Almost as basic as the search for more accurate information about the subject matter of L2 instruction is research into the processes whereby a foreign tongue is learned. Good language instruction depends on understanding the nature of the learner as well as on understanding the nature of language. But in recent years psychologists have lagged behind linguists in offering L2 teachers new insight into their work.

9.4. An increasingly apparent need is that for interdisciplinary research. Thus, a full evaluation of the problems of bilingualism will almost certainly demand a cooperative approach by linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, educators, and perhaps even psychiatrists.

9.5. Field experimentation in the application of theory should certainly not be held up because of our present paucity of basic information. In practice, however, the problem of balance may lie in the other direction. School administrators, government officials, the executives of private foundations are often so much concerned with the emergency nature of the African educational crisis, with the need for immediate programs of action, that they are unwilling to give concurrent support to the slower approaches which alone can make continued progress possible.

9.6. A few specific research problems may well be enumerated here, simply because they were not listed in the Report of the Commonwealth Conference:

a) Lexical structuring is much less understood than phonological and grammatical structuring.

b) The need for a more refined framework within which to analyse and compare cultures.

c) To what extent does the success of language instruction depend on the teacher's conception of grammar? Does grammar learned through immediate-constituent analysis lead to better teaching than that learned through the study of transformations?

d) Should form and meaning be presented simultaneously or sequentially?

e) The effectiveness of various drill techniques. Aural drill with or without visual stimulation? How much repetition is needed? Is the time devoted to creating a situation which calls for the use of a given linguistic structure time well spent?

f) The construction of equated bilingual tests.

g) Can "programmed learning" imparted by the misnamed "teaching machines" help solve the shortage of trained teachers?

10. Co-operation between host countries and resource countries

10.1. The inadequate resources of the so-called "resource countries". Those countries whose inhabitants speak English as their mother tongue ought to be in a position to aid nations in which the language serves as an L2. Yet, in both Britain and the United States, highly qualified experts in L2 instruction are in critically short supply. How can the number of institutions prepared to give the requisite linguistic and pedagogical training be increased? How can more students be attracted?

10.2. Lacunae in current training in descriptive linguistics. Linguists could be more helpful to L2 teachers if the training of the former, particularly in the United States, included more attention to written language and attached more importance to meaningful communication.

10.3. A clearer conception of the limitations of linguists. In some quarters almost miraculous abilities to revolutionise language teaching are ascribed to the possessor of a Ph.D. in descriptive linguistics, even though he may know next to nothing about what goes on in an elementary classroom or within a school system.

10.4. Equating creative work abroad with scholarly publication. At present, if a university professor in one of the resource countries goes abroad to attempt to apply his knowledge to the solution of practical problems, he often thereby jeopardizes his chances for academic advancement.

10.5. Providing research opportunities for university personnel. Academicians might be more willing to go abroad, universities might be more interested in overseas projects, if jobs and contracts were planned so as to encourage research as well as to require programmes of action.

10.6. Developing the attitudes, mechanisms, and techniques necessary for cooperation among the resource countries. Increased Franco-Anglo-American collaboration could be especially valuable in Africa.

10.7. Judicious use of highly trained personnel from the resource countries. Is the proper role of such experts to teach, to train teachers, or to educate the trainers of teachers? To remedy the worst current emergencies or to help develop long-range plans?

10.8. Providing continuity in projects which must be carried out largely through a series of short-term appointments.

10.9. Gaining support for regional institutions which must be located in one host country yet can be of service to several.

10.10. Full utilization of trainees upon their return home after study abroad. The returned trainee often loses his courage and his professional effectiveness if assigned to work which isolates him from others who share his convictions and insights.

10.11. Team-work in the production of teaching materials. Almost no existing L2 texts combine a sufficient number of desirable ingredients : linguistic sophistication and pedagogical practicality, the specialist's enthusiasm for the subject and the generalist's concern for the curriculum as an articulated whole, complete mastery of the language to be taught and profound knowledge of the pupils who are to learn it and of their culture.

10.12. Facilities for practice teaching. One of the unsolved problems when L2 teachers from host countries are trained in institutions in resource countries is the provision of opportunities for realistic practice teaching. Would it be possible to provide such opportunities under proper supervision after the trainees return home?

10.13. Facilities for experimentation, especially in the theory of learning. The results of experimentation carried out in resource countries, where most research scholars are concentrated, can have little validity in host countries.

10.14. The reorientation of Europeans sent abroad to teach their mother tongue. Usually no reorientation is provided at present. The high school English teacher tries to teach the language in Accra just as she did in Birmingham.

10.15. The proper preparation of Peace Corps-men. There is every indication that a constantly increasing amount of English will be taught in Africa by members of the Peace Corps. Most Corps-men sent out up to now have received only a few hours of specialized training in the teaching of an L2. The theory seems to be that anyone who speaks English as his mother tongue is thereby qualified to teach it. The best hope of remedying the situation appears to lie in insistence by the governments of the host countries that much more preparation is essential.

11. Conclusion

11.1. The most significant education problems involved in the teaching of an L2 are certainly human and individual. Lest we lose sight of this fact, amid the multiplicity of varied items included in the preceding inventory, an eloquent quotation is included by way of summary. A young Filipino physician, educated almost entirely through the medium of English in the public schools of his country, gives in an unpublished article a striking picture of the later stages of his own struggle to overcome the problems of a bilingual schooling. As a high-school student he is still at the stage where he has to "put his thoughts into Tagalog first, and then translate each Tagalog word into English as he goes along. Thinking and speaking thus demand an unduly prolonged effort and, subconsciously, he would rather fall back on his old habits and parrotise than do any thinking at all, much less think originally." "In the latter years of his college work, the student may have learned enough English to make him continually undecided as to what language he wants to use in speaking. So he gets stuck in his speaking, and necessarily also in his thinking." This physician believes that true mastery of English and relative ease of thought and expression come, if ever, only after graduation from the university. "Should the graduate be inspired by a not-to-be-suppressed intellectual drive to learn and grow, even to the extent of studying on by himself, he will finally acquire a knowledge of English even greater than his knowledge of Tagalog. And then his thoughts will find natural expression in English. He will thus be set free, for the language problem for him will at last have ended."

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SUGGESTED CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF TEXTBOOKS IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Clifford H. Prator

Materials for teaching English as a second language should:

1) Be organized as a fully articulated series, with each year's work based on what has preceded.

2) Incorporate the best current thinking of linguistic scientists regarding the nature of language and the structure of English.

3) Take into account the results of psychological experimentation dealing with language learning.

4) Reflect the specific linguistic and cultural needs of the pupils who are to use them, needs which are best determined by a contrastive analysis of linguistic and cultural systems.

5) Be built around a carefully arranged sequence of the most useful English structural patterns.

6) Provide systematic help in dealing with problems of pronunciation.

7) Limit the number and rate of introduction of new vocabulary items, particularly during the early years of instruction.

8) In presenting new material, follow the sequence hear-say-read-write.

9) Formulate instructional objectives clearly, if possible in behavioral terms, and provide means for determining when the objectives have been achieved.

10) Aim at building up respect for the mother tongue of the pupils and the culture of which it is an expression.

11) Familiarize pupils with realistic, conversational English as well as the more formal type found in most school texts.

12) Relate language-learning experiences to the pupils' natural centers of interest.

13) Provide each individual with an adequate opportunity to drill new language forms and patterns to the point of mastery.

14) Make certain that the pupils can use English for purposes of natural

communication by gradually relaxing the controls that were originally imposed.

15) Make full and appropriate use of selected visual aids, real objects, authentic situations, and recorded materials.

ENGLISH USAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG THE NAVAJO

J. Donald Bowen

In considering aims for teaching and learning English as a second language it is important to keep clearly in mind the situation in which the language is studied. What are the attitudes, the incentives, the rewards, the needs, the opportunities, and the handicaps? Why does a student engage in language study? Perhaps because the system he is a part of has designed a curriculum that includes language classes, but this only postpones the questions, which must then be asked of those who built the curriculum.

A curriculum must have a rationale. In considering the proper aims for the inclusion of English instruction in the education of Navajo students, I would include two justifying objectives. The first is to produce and preserve the maximum number of choices possible for each student. He should have a range of economic or vocational choices, with the power to exercise his prerogative to elect to follow farming or cattle raising, to enter industry or commerce, to become an entertainer, or to study for one of the professions. He should also have cultural or social choices, with the capacity as well as the right to biculturalism or monoculturalism, to remain in his own culture, to pass to the wider culture of Anglo-America, or to keep a foot in both camps. He should have linguistic choices, to decide whether or not to use English or Navajo or both, and if the latter, on what occasions he will use each.

None or very few of these choices will be his unless he has an opportunity to receive an education that is adequate to the task of making him bilingual and bicultural. He can choose only when there are options open to him, and there are very few open to the uneducated Navajo. He cannot hope to develop the initiative that will let him choose to enter a hostile world (hostile perhaps only because it is unknown) to attempt to compete on terms which he does not control and which his own monocultural, monolingual background does not prepare him to cope with. Education is his only practical road to the emancipation of free choice, and in his situation it is education in English.

The second justifying objective of including English-language instruction in the education of Navajo students derives from the first. It is to enable the student to achieve a solid measure of linguistic inconspicuousness. This is particularly important if the choice is to be either biculturalism or identification with the wider culture of American life; that is, if there is really to be a choice, the student ideally needs to develop a high degree of competence and versatility in both languages, in their sound, structure, expression, idiom, etc. In a word, there needs to be genuine preparation for communication beyond the confines of the classroom.

One quickly notes that the school is geared and especially equipped to support English language and culture. Native culture is largely ignored. I recall seeing in one Indian school a classroom display that covered a large bulletin board, titled "Our Pilgrim Forefathers," which seemed to surprise no one but me. The question of the proper role for Navajo culture and language in a Bureau of Indian Affairs school on the Navajo reservation is an open one. No one seems to have decided to what extent Navajo culture should be recognized, valued, or taught. Whether to teach the Navajo language is considered controversial. Many people, perhaps including a substantial number of Navajo parents, would consider Navajo language instruction to be a useless waste of valuable school time, a subject that would have to be crowded into an already full schedule at the expense of more useful subjects. Anyway, the child already knows Navajo--what he lacks and needs is English.

The question of how much Navajo language and culture, if any, to include in the school curriculum is one I am not competent to decide. I have my prejudices--I would include both--but I could be wrong. The social scientists, however, have alerted us to the crucial importance of a person's self-concept, the importance of an adequate adjustment to one's surroundings, whatever these are, and it seems to me that anything as personal as the mother tongue and the world of one's childhood can be completely neglected in formal education only at considerable peril to a balanced personality. How can the student confidently value these tap roots of his background if no one else seems to? Those of our schools that in the past have ignored the background language and culture of the children in their care have been less than spectacularly successful in presenting a realization of the choices I have listed above.

But this is a digression from my theme of teaching English to Navajo students, though I do believe that to teach English to these children effectively, a teacher must be able to consider their background of Navajo language and culture. If the teacher knows where the student is (understands the student's linguistic background) and knows what he is expected to achieve (has defined the real terminal behavior that will serve to define teaching objectives), then he can more confidently outline the direction of movement to achieve appropriate educational goals.

Learning objectives are one need. Another is a set of standards for acceptable performance, by means of which objectives can be judged. Unfortunately, the best standards we have are not exact and fixed. The language itself allows a certain latitude or range of variation, and the student will also find that a range of linguistic behavior is acceptable. He really needs only to approximate, not to hit a bull's eye.

Still we need standards, and they should come from acceptable definitions of terminal behavior, in which standards are implicit. One could still ask an important question, about how the student gets from here to there, assuming we know where he is and where he needs to go. Should he go directly and immediately, or should he progress through intermediate steps? The answer has to be a compromise, because going directly is impossible. The student simply can't move directly to communication without a substantial development of manipulative skills and coordinations, so intermediate steps are a practical necessity. But, and this is crucial, the end must not be lost from sight, because progress toward ultimate teaching goals can come only if there is steady progress in the direction they represent.

The Navajo has one linguistic need that not all second-language students of English the world over share: he must develop a native or near-native pronunciation. Otherwise, he will be unable to blend into the linguistic landscape of general American usage, and the range of his will be inevitably limited. This must be kept in mind in defining terminal behavior.

Assuming that the appropriate terminal behavior does not place a premium on declamatory skills in English, for which I presume the Navajo student has relatively little need, the key concept that the educational philosopher, the curriculum designer, the text writer, and the teacher must have is: naturalness. How to achieve naturalness in a school language is the burden of the rest of this paper.

Taking naturalness into the classroom is not a simple matter of observing and applying reality. First of all the classroom has its own traditions, including a feeling for what is natural in a school class, and these may be at variance with the definitions of terminal behavior that are derived from the needs of a cross section of society. The classroom is simply not a natural reflection of the cultural community. It is a very formal place, where an adult of considerable prestige makes the decisions and directs the activities of the students.

A widely held conception of general education is that it should aim to preserve and propagate the best of the culture, and we have many value judgments associated with the language we use. Many teachers, supervisors, administrators, and indeed parents feel that the school should present only the highly valued forms of the language. Yet it is at this point where we must distinguish native-language and second-language instruction: the native-speaking child may indeed come to school to learn the valued forms. He brings the common forms of the language with him, even though some are reluctantly accepted, some are actively discouraged, and some (the taboo forms) are relentlessly suppressed.

But the second-language student must get every pattern, form, and skill from school. Some students may find reinforcement for their English usage outside of the school, but a great many, perhaps most, rely almost exclusively on the school presentation. For many of the others, outside reinforcement will include pronunciations and expressions that deviate so far from acceptable standards that it may actually be counter productive. We are forced to rely on the definition of terminal behavior to provide classroom standards, which will hopefully supply clues to the most useful selection and sequence of teaching points on which to base lessons.

The teacher cannot provide the bare facts of reality, but must create the illusion of reality. This is true for tow reasons: The first is that the actual language conversation is based on immediate feedback, a fact which contributes to many grammatical fragments, unfinished sentences, false starts, and restarts. When this language is repeated the number of times necessary for a student to master the forms, the deviations from well-formed utterances become conspicuous and unnatural. The parlor experience of replaying a tape-recorded casual conversation has caused surprise and consternation on many occasions to speakers who do not realize how extensively the grammar of performance differs from the grammar of competence. Once the complete utterances are mastered, the student may more easily learn the reductions of casual speech, may master the visual signals that inform the speaker that the completion of his sentence is unnecessary, may leave sentences hanging in mid-air as he stumbles on to a more effective way of expressing his thoughts. But this is a skill to be gained in advanced classes that can be supported by real communication experience, not the route of the beginning elementary level.

The second reason that strict reality cannot be enforced in the classroom is that it is the locale fo limited experience, compared to the complete cultural picture we wish to present. Much of this fuller picture must be imagined; it cannot be directly presented in the classroom. Indeed a lively imagination should be included in the equipment a serious student brings with him to the language class, if he is to successfully escape the physical limitations the classroom imposes.

With these cautions, then, how can we usefully carry the concept of naturalness into the classroom? I would suggest three specific criteria by which to judge a classroom performance.

The first is *naturalness of situation*. The social contexts presented by the lessons should be plausible and meaningful, a criterion regularly violated by many of the texts we supply our first language students. A child who asks "Mother, may I please sleep at Billy's house trailer tonight?" and who receives the answer "Yes, of course you may. Get into the car and I'll drive you over to the trailer court right now." is meeting a mother the likes of which he has never met in real life. Real mothers don't jump to comply with requests that involve explicit invitations which must be checked out and verified. How much more inappropriate would such a situation be to a Navajo child in a boarding school, whose family may own a truck, but not a car, and who has never seen a house trailer court.

Imagination yes, but based on some reality in the child's life. Legitimate new experience must be related to the known world of the student, preferably arranged in a form analogous to widening concentric circles as the student becomes aware through school activities of an ever wider world around him. There are hints on how to do this -- through activities, games, etc. -- but always in a meaningful context. Given this, it is almost surprising how much can be done with a child's imagination.

The second criterion is *naturalness of linguistic content*, the use of real language (or, more accurately, the artistic elaboration that presents a convincing illusion of real language). The boy in the example above in real life would almost certainly never say "Mother, may I sleep at..." This is transparently wooden; real boys say "Mommy, can I ..." when they ask permission at home. (It's only at schools where any significant percentage of flesh-and-blood children ever ask permission with *may* --- "May I sharpen my pencil, etc.") This is not the world of terminal behavior we are really interested in.

A fair number of the corrections of native speech in schools fall into this category, such as the prescription against ending a sentence with a preposition. Churchill is said to have protested to a secretary who had moved a preposition back that this was one correction up with which he would not put. One needs only to test the unnaturalness of the question "From where are you?" to be convinced of the inappropriateness of this traditional rule. People who struggle trying to accommodate their usage to other traditional rules come out with such hypercorrections as "whom shall we say is calling?" "Give it to John and I," etc. I recall being told as a child that only horses sweat, people perspire; that you raise pigs, but you rear children. These examples are all instances of the failure of traditional grammar teaching to recognize common, even educated usage, applying an unrealistic interpretation in variance with real life.

No real harm is done to the first-language student by such teaching, possibly other than convincing him that school is a world apart from real life. He will be unaffected when he leaves the classroom, easily reverting to the real forms of the language. But the second-language student can be damaged; he will have to make an adjustment when he leaves the schoolroom, a useless adjustment because it could have been avoided, or be marked by pedantry whenever he uses his second language. It is a responsibility of the second-language classroom, one it certainly should not avoid, to teach the informal registers of normal communication. If these are not taught in school, the student is left on his own to do something which he should have had assistance with. For the native-speaking student, the school is a partner with the home; the child learns informal speech at home, formal forms at school. But the second-language classroom must supply (and identify by appropriate situational contexts) both formal and informal, and in the early stages the latter should probably predominate, just as in the case of the native speaker, who also mastered informal speech first.

The third criterion by which a classroom performance can be judged is naturalness of interpretation, of the actual physical production of sequences of speech sounds. A situation may be real, the sentences appropriate, and the result still fail to be natural if the pronunciations are overprecise or stilted. To illustrate what I mean I must write pronunciations, which can be done in two ways, by means of a phonetic transcription or of informal, "comic-strip" spellings. I have chosen the latter, in spite of the antagonism these spellings often elicit from those with tendencies toward purism, since comic-strip spellings are more easily read by most people than are the technical representations of phonetic transcription.

May I offer an anecdotal illustration. Several years ago, when I was the linguist in charge of an oral-aural adult class, I was confronted with a strange question on one of my regular visits to the class. The query was: Are you teaching us substandard Spanish? I was surprised, said no, at least not intentionally, and asked why. The student answered, "because we had translated the Spanish sentence he was memorizing with substandard English." When I asked where, he dropped his finger on his open book, and as it made contact with the page, uttered a deprecatory "gonna." Sure enough, we had translated the Spanish sentence " Que va a hacer esta noche?" attempting to match the informal interpretation by which the three a sounds of "va a hacer" are pronounced as one by an equally informal English rendition, contracting "going to" to "gonna." I protested, as I would again today, that this was not substandard English, that it's the kind I use all the time. My student said in no uncertain terms "Well I don't. And I'm not gonna start now." The effect was electric. His embarrassment at being caught was aggravated by the amused laughter of his classmates. He didn't ask me another question through the remainder of the course.

Contractions like "gonna" from "going to" are important, not only because they represent real language, but because they carry contrastive information. Let me illustrate by lising a series of these contrasts with the most likely interpretations of their meanings:

1.	I'm going to Gallup.	(destination)
2.	I'm gonna gallop.	(intention)
3.	What do you have to eat?	(available)
4.	What do you hafta eat?	(diet requirement)
5.	This dog is used to fish.	(for the purpose of)
6.	This dog is usta fish.	(accustomed to eating)
7.	So you got to go.	(yesterday)
8.	So you gotta go.	(tomorrow)
9.	What do you want to play?	(How much?)
10.	What do you wanna play?	(What number?)
11.	Oh, mother, let us go.	(give us permission)
12.	Oh, mother, let's go.[1]	(accompany me)

In most of these examples the odd-numbered sentences could conceivably carry the meanings of the even-numbered ones--if one insisted on sticking to formal registers--though the interpretation might be a bit stilted and unnatural, but the opposite would never be true. The informal interpretation is more restricted in meaning and therefore, in one sense, is more useful since less ambiguous.

Notice that there is a standard contracted spelling only for number twelve. All of the other spellings were invented by comic-strip writers, except possibly number six, which may be new with this writing. Not having an acceptable spelling to unambiguously represent, the informal pronunciation may have had the effect of prejudicing classrooms against the pronunciations, though they are certainly natural in the real speech of native speakers of English anywhere in the world.

Like this series of contractions, there is a series of assimilations, unrepresented by traditional spellings and avoided in tradition-oriented classrooms. They too represent normal, natural, real speech and should be incorporated into the materials of the second-language English classroom. These assimilations involve a stop or fricative produced in the alveolar region followed immediately by a y, producing a palatal sound different from both source sounds. The following list is illustrative; the underlined phrases rhyme with the word each sentence is matched with:

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[1] That these are completely different constructions becomes very apparent when a question tag is added:

Oh, mother, let us go, will you?
Oh, mother, let's go, shall we?

13. I'm going to miss you. (tissue)
14. So he's your brother. (seizure)
15. You ate your lunch? (nature)
16. I heard your argument. (merger)

Some teachers might feel that the pronunciations indicated for the underlined words represent sloppy, careless English. I don't agree; these are perfectly normal renditions of spoken English in an informal register (the kind most of our communication is carried on in).

Actually, these pronunciations represent the underlying structure of the phonology of English, as the following examples should show. The suffix, -une, is added to verb stems to form nouns that refer to the act or process or result of the event named by the verb. Thus, if one fails, the result is referred to as a failure.

Note that the suffix -ure is pronounced identically to a weak-stressed instance of the possessive your or of the pronoun-verb contraction you're. Thus, in pronouncing the sentence "Did you fail your class?" or "If you fail you're a failure," the pronunciations fail your and (if there's no phrasal break) fail you're are identical with the noun failure.

The l of fail followed by the y of your produces /ly/. But there are important assimilations if the first consonant is alveolar, as it is when the verb stem ends in s or z or t or d. Note the following combinations:

erase - erasure
close - closure
depart - departure
proceed - procedure

17. Will you please erase your mistakes?
18. Will you please close your books?
19. If you depart you're safe.
20. If you proceed you're lost.

These examples illustrate a normal phonological accommodation that is characteristic of English; erase ends in /s/, but if a /y/ follows, the /sy/ becomes /s/. Close, depart, and proceed have a similar pattern of change, a pattern which we can chart as follows:

/ s / + / y / -- / s /
/ z / + / y / -- / z /
/ t / + / y / -- / c /
/ d / + / y / -- / j /

This is a normal English pattern, one which must be learned by a student who hopes to understand the informal speech of native speakers and who hopes to sound natural when he speaks English himself.

The teacher in a second-language class, then, must do more than the teacher in a first-language class. The second-language student must try to the extent of his ability to learn the skills and patterns that the first-language student had when he entered school at age six, particularly the competence in informal speech that has not been taught in the schools--since it could safely be taken for granted. Once the second-language student has "caught up," so to speak, then his problems are more similar to those that face a native speaker entering school: he must become literate and he must extend the range of his control to different keys, styles, and registers of the language.

The second-language student first of all needs accuracy, in the natural, realistic sense described above. Then he needs versatility, which comes with and at the same time facilitates the development of the expanding horizons of awareness that a liberal education is intended to achieve.

One caution is in order. Naturalness does not mean sloppiness. This is a not uncommon mistake by well-meaning students who advise "When you want to sound like an American, take a mouthful of potatoes, and then talk." Natural speech is not the result of poor or careless enunciation. On the contrary, as we have seen, it is carefully governed by specific rules that are peculiar to English, including the rules of contraction and assimilation that we have discussed. Traditional instruction has neglected these rules,and the results have not been satisfactory.

Certainly this is true of the Navajo student, for whom blending into the linguistic background is so important. We may forgive the foreign student who sounds like a book when he talks, for after all, he is foreign. But the Navajo is American, more American than most of us. He has no far off homeland to return to after he completes his schooling. His home is here in America, and this is where his cultural adjustment must be made. To maintain as many elections or choices as possible for him, he must have first of all linguistic accuracy; next, linguistic versatility.

There is no reason why our schools cannot provide these two skills in teaching English. We have many advantages over the student studying English abroad. Even though he may be isolated, the Navajo is not insulated. Radio and television reach into the furtherest village on the reservation and bring American culture. New modern roads make access to the reservation easier, and further cultural adaptations are inevitable.

One enormous advantage is that almost without exception, the Navajo's teachers are native speakers of English. These teachers must adjust to the special needs of students like the Navajo, which is why we have an educational specialization known as Teaching English as a Second Language. The first task is to present informal English, to teach what the student would have learned in an English-speaking home, and as indicated earlier, informal English is not entirely provided for in our school tradition. The teacher, especially in the lower elementary grades, must do in the schoolroom what is natural outside the schoolroom. And this an advantage which, with an informal and sincere effort, is fully within the capacity of the native-speaking teacher. The second task, increasing the students' linguistic versatility, has long been a part of educational tradition of teaching English. A proper and productive application to second-language teaching needs only the assurance that an appropriate foundation of basic language-skills has been laid. It's primarily a matter of priorities.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING - AT HOME AND ABROAD

Lois McIntosh

To go from the United States where English is being taught as both a first and a second language to the Orient where English is offered as a foreign language in some areas and as a second language in others is to re-trace some of the stages in the development in English language teaching.

In the autumn of 1967, I spent two and a half months in Kyoto, Japan, and a short time in Taipei, Taiwan. In both, English was taught as a foreign language with varied results. A week in Manila provided an interesting contrast. For there English is still regarded as a second language - as the language of instruction in the schools - in spite of nationalistic rumblings. Here too the use of language in college classes clearly demonstrated the need to make a distinction between English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language.

English as it is taught in many parts of Japan is a very foreign language. Although it is required from junior high school to college entrance, it is not regarded as a second language. The average Japanese student lives his full and busy life completely in his first language. The English that he meets in class has no immediate meaning for him - as he spends much of the lesson showing that he understands it by translating English into Japanese, and Japanese into English, a sentence at a time.

The junior and senior high school teachers are a valiant group. Some of them have returned from abroad with the latest word on linguistics, psychology, and language teaching. They are aware of "patterning" in language and of how to carry out substitution drills. But classes of forty students are typical, and the specter of the college entrance examination requiring skill in translation handicaps the teaching. Those teachers who have not studied abroad sometimes lack confidence in their command of English. Japanese, as a result, is very often the language of instruction even in the English language class.

On visits to the schools in Kyoto, I was often asked to read the text. The forty boys and girls chorused after me with reasonable success in imitation. When I put down the text and asked them a yes/no question about what we had just read, nobody could or would answer. This was later explained to me on the basis of "shyness" in the presence of a native speaker. I wonder if it might not also indicate lack of comprehension of what they were reading. The books, for the most part, featured simplified folk tales and legends, and the actions of some middle class American boys and girls. Perhaps texts closer to the interests of these intelligent young students might have helped. (There are some available, but I did not see them in use.)

English speaking societies, on the other hand, do what the classroom doesn't seem to. I was interviewed by a group in one high school and their carefully prepared questions ranged from how many Japanese were studying at UCLA and how much Japanese was taught in the United States to American attitudes about Vietnam. Kyoto boys who belong to the ESS go once a week to the international hotels to engage English-speaking tourists in conversation. Oratorical contests and debating societies also provide opportunities for English speech.

Kyoto University provides oral training to undergraduates. In a well-equipped laboratory, classes of up to sixty students work through the Prator Manual in a thorough manner. It is unfortunate that the console and controls are located behind the students and enclosed in glass. The instructors talk to the students by microphone. There is little or no opportunity for communication in such a setting - so the instructors, all of whom have spent a year or more in the U. S., desert the console and face their students when they can.

During my stay at Kyoto University, I developed and taught five lessons which brought the students through manipulation to communication. Each lesson began with a dialogue based on life in Kyoto. Each lesson focused on a grammatical problem of particular concern to Japanese speakers - and each one took the students from choral repetition to individual performance through chain drills and diminishing clues to independent questions and answers. With only twenty students in a group, it was possible to have real communication.

When a language lesson is so constructed that the sentences have some meaning for the learner, the need for translation is diminished. However, when the class consists of more than twenty students, small group work needs to be attempted so that students, in rotation, can get some individual attention.

I attended several teacher meetings. Invariably any professional discussion was carried on by the few who had been abroad and who talked knowledgeably about such topics as the sequencing of materials, contrastive analysis, and translation. The majority sat and listened. At one meeting they submitted questions in advance to which I wrote replies. With these in hand they were better able to follow the remarks of this native speaker.

At every gathering, professional matters were quickly abandoned in favor of three questions:

1. The number of beatniks and mini skirts (somehow associated) in the United States.
2. The existence of student organizations protesting the Vietnam situation.
3. The question of my religious beliefs.

Finally, when I showed Starting English Early, the film that illustrates certain basic principles of language teaching as applied to very young Spanish speakers, it was watched in complete silence. Any discussion of its implications came from me.

While the schools struggle with large classes and inadequate materials, the need for the control of spoken and written English continues. Daily life does not demand this, it is true. Professional futures, however, do. For example, at a screening examination for applicants for Southeast Asian study grants, I tested the oral/aural performance of seven applicants. They were specialists in forestry, geology, sociology, and general agriculture, and were undoubtedly well trained to help develop areas of Asia. English competence would be necessary for the task. Only one applicant - a political science major from Tokyo - was at all fluent in English. His major may have increased his language capacity, as perhaps one in soil chemistry might not. But it was sad that the years in junior and senior high school and in college had failed to equip these able and intelligent young men adequately for a role in the English speaking world.

This one example could be multiplied many times. If in the university some classes, preferably in contemporary literature, could be conducted entirely in English, a major gain in appreciation and competence might follow. (Before we native speakers smile, however, let me point out that our classes in world literature are in translation. Not too many years ago, we too used English to acquire modern languages, and we still use it for more ancient tongues.)

On Taiwan, in Teipei and elsewhere, English is also taught as a foreign language. But here there was more use of English by the general public in the hotels and shops. At Soochow University, where Edward Yang, with an M. A. in linguistics from UCLA, has much to do with English language instruction, I showed Starting English Early to a large group of juniors and seniors. To my pleasure and surprise, they reacted as if they understood it. They laughed in the right places, and afterwards there were questions and a lively exchange with the audience. The presence of a number of Americans on the staff is probably a contributing factor here, and English as a foreign language seemed to be taught here for real use. Classes at the USIS Language School were also interesting. Taught for the most part by American wives of personnel stationed in Taipei, the students were exposed to native speech. The teachers were guided by a linguist, and I saw some competent and rather technical work in phonetics - always a sign that a linguist is on the job. I was sorry to find that a better text was not used in the language classes. The widely circulated one had been selected because it was easier for a relatively untrained native speaker to use.

A conversation with the Dean of Taiwan Provincial Normal University and one of his teachers was heartening evidence that the English language is taught for use in Taiwan. The University was aided for many years by the Asia Foundation and for three years by The University of Texas.

I went on to Manila then. After an absence of seven years, I found the city bustling and building. Dozens of good friends who had studied at UCLA gathered and we had good professional exchanges in English. And I sat in a class in socio-linguistics at the Philippine Normal College and listened to several reports by young students who were handling the English language competently on a very advanced level indeed.

From Grade One through college, English has been a second language for them. It is bound to take hold. Not that everyone succeeds in its use - the remedial teaching goes on. But because English was the medium of instruction in many years of school; because it is in wide use in the city, at any rate; because mass media in English is accessible - and many official acts are carried out in English - its second language role is clear.

Those of us who studied a foreign language in high school in pre-linguistic days probably remember that we rarely came to grips with it until in college a native speaker forced us to understand and to speak something resembling the language we had studied. In those days, travel abroad found us helpless and tongue-tied in the foreign language situation which we had approached only through our native tongue and through reading about it.

In those days too the teaching of English as a foreign or second language in this country was largely limited to citizenship classes where the Mr. Parkhills struggled with the Hyman Kaplans.

We have progressed since those days. Our foreign students - at least in some university centers - get good attention from linguistically trained and oriented teachers. Surrounded by English and forced to use it to study here, they soon manage to accommodate to the English-speaking community.

We have begun to progress in our recognition that from kindergarten on in our public and private schools, not all of our learners speak English as their mother tongue, and their whole education will be handicapped unless we do something about it. (TESOL, the organization dedicated to this, came of age only four years ago. We are in no position yet to sit back and feel smug about our efforts.)

If we are inclined to shake our heads over English language teaching efforts abroad, let us remember how much is left to be done at home. We need research into effective methodological practices, more studies of the conflicts in language and culture that the learner brings with him to the study of English. We have much more to do before the advanced student can move from language study to literary appreciation in this second language.

Both at home and abroad English language teaching should be coming of age. In each situation, the aims of the learner and the goals of its ultimate use should influence approaches, materials, and methods. The linguist, the psychologist, and the anthropologist all have information for us about the nature of the language and the nature of the learner who comes to us for English. Let us add our creativity as teachers to this, so that in our classrooms English as a second language will be well and truly taught.

A GUIDE TO STUDY OF THE SHORT STORY FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS

John F. Povey

When I was first asked to teach literature to a class of non-native speakers my immediate assumption was that the essential thing was to get as far as possible from English Literature in its narrowest pedagogic sense. We all have our horror stories of teaching in foreign countries where we have witnessed the pathetic sight of students, with minimal language comprehension, being taught enthusiastically some great classic of English poetry or prose. Dickens seems to be a particular favorite. The wretched educational results of these attempts are to be found everywhere abroad. The West African syllabus includes both Jane Austen and Henry James for example. The student's comprehension, in such circumstances, has to be minimal and garbled varients of ignorantly written bazaar notes make the core of examinations of many an average student. What else could we expect? Indeed what are we attempting to achieve at all with literature in the foreign students' syllabus? This question has not been asked because it has not been asked in the native-speaking context and the schooling of say West Africans or Indians is a borrowed import from the British system with all its reactionary follies and pretensions. In an exam centered system "results" are what count and if the true "results" in any educational sense are appalling and degrading to any sense of educational purpose the parroted answers gain the prized "results" in passes which permit advancement to more of the same folly and misapprehension.

The analysis of these problems; the precise measures evident to support one's emotive reaction; the presentation of legitimate changes that might make literature a viable part of both language competence and educational advance: these are topics too broad even to be approached here. Ultimately some new version of the famous Grieve report on West African language teaching will have to be undertaken for literatures in a similar context. For the present one rather can only turn, as teachers have in the past, to the precise personal experience; to varied remedial attempts made on the minor, but crucial, level of the individual classroom. This is the more vital when one finds oneself, as I did, in the happy position of being granted complete freedom to try any works or techniques experimentally, without the usual curriculum bondage that often inhibits the teacher's desire to attempt new approaches. In my freedom to experiment I sought fundamentally to break from the pattern of explication and memorizing that had been deplorably common.

My first reactions were reported in a paper I presented at a recent NCTE meeting which was subsequently reprinted in the first of our series of UCLA work papers. I argued that in our concern for language teaching, which is admittedly the essential heart of ESL work, we had made too great a bogy of linguistic problems. Often a student's recognition vocabulary is very extensive, and it is recognition, not usage, vocabulary which is required in reading. This is why the more complex syntactical patterns, which the student could not conceivably manipulate in conversation, were generally intelligible. To say this is to make no fresher statement than that for all of us, the lexical and structural varients we employ in conversation, are infinitely more limited and simplified than those that we can employ in writing, and even they exhibit less elaborate variation than we can recognize with easy enjoyment in the writings of others. Hopeful that upon this ability we could readily mount to higher things, I diagnosed that it was often a cultural restriction that hindered or simply distored comprehension. Literature set so deeply within a national or racial context, did not always lend itself to easy universalities. I have continued to follow this aspect of inter-cultural comprehension with increasing fascination. It is undoubtedly the key to an understanding perhaps more vital than the elucidation of the work itself, for it leads to that international awareness we may hopefully expect to elicit from foreign students learning our language. For example, students' reaction to a reading of Hemingway's short story A Clean Well Lighted Place was valuable. It exposed their shock at the poor lonely man in the cafe drinking. "In our society the old are admired for their wisdom and cherished by all their family who love them..." said several different nationalities in a concerted accusation which they must learn is only partially fair.

There is a great deal to be understood about these varied reactions to the expressed national culture though the direction implicit in my discovery concerns me, for it appears to lead to such a cultural relativism that it will set us all at the mercy of the explanations of anthropologists--a disastrous fate for the humanities! But although I wished to continue this elucidation of perceptual differences I began to find that there was another significant reason for the occasionally minimal response I got from a class after the reading of a short story which I felt that they had both comprehended and enjoyed. I discovered that the students did not know what to say. Before this truism is dismissed as meaningless let me amplify. I felt that the students' comprehension of the story was vague and unfocussed because it was not controlled by any directional channels of previous experience with similar works. In fact the whole disciplinary background of English Literature was missing and the kind of detailed anticipation that we take for granted as part of the school training of the freshman was lacking in these students. They needed to be shown a much more rigorous methodological series of organized literary elements to allow them to perceive the construction and form of the short story which they had read. They had no critical tools, no established patterns of past formulations, to allow them to perceive the shaping of a story. Their inability to see the underlying structure meant that it was hard for them to observe comparisons. The technical shapes and structures of each individual piece had not been sufficiently apparent for them to isolate distinctive elements. Since it is from this separation of distinguishable parts that all comparisons of likeness and differentiation have to be made my ESL student was unable to make a beginning of critical discussion--beyond the "I think I like it" stage.

At first this discovery thoroughly disconcerted me, for it appeared to lead directly backward to those dark swamps of memorization; the chanting of dimly comprehended jargon; the residue of critical theory of the English literature departments from whose custody we were hopefully escaping. Then

I saw that this was a false view and that another, more encouraging metaphor might be used. The kind of concepts which were helpful in perceiving the style of the short stories were the tools which, properly employed, led to understanding. These devices were in no sense substitutes for comprehension. Even knowing these outline ideas would not lead a student on to intelligent perception unless there was an attendent intellectual effort and sensitivity. Nor could an ignorant student impress by exhibiting what was only workable equipment. Usage would be the measure of student ability. To outline the techniques by which a short story was constructed, could be regarded as similar to explaining the terminology and structure of musical theory or of the basic elements of painting. In neither case did the terminology create criticism and wrongly used complex words could make for mere obfustication. But intelligently comprehended the terms became the convenient devices which directed the learners' attention more sharply and usefully to the elements from which the work as a whole is formulated. Explanations of these construction details become the footholds that guide a student into discoveries more complex, and more valuable--those relating to the thematic ideas of the work itself.

With the reassurance of this debate in mind I tried to analyze those qualities of a short story and its writing technique which could clarify the rather nebulous perceptions of a reader who was unfamiliar with the genre in the American style. What guide lines would be helpful toward recognition of the underlying technical form and the literary devices employed. I devised and developed the following series of items which I found set limits to the framework of the short story form and thus gave the student a sense of the organization which this literary style required of its author. A check on the existence or absence of certain devices gave them some pointers on which they could lean as they read a single work. Such recognition of detail is valueless in itself of course but it leads to much broader awakeness. Like all generalizations mine have their inevitable oversimplifications and some may take delight in pointing out the overlaps they permit. Sloppy as the delineation lines may be this schematic outline does have the advantage of making some order available to the student and I would at least aver it is more useful than misleading in its orderings.

To begin with I admitted that I was unable to offer any very functional definition of the short story. I recognized it was short (which seemed to have to cover lengths from half a page to the "could-it-be-called-a-nouvelle?" length of say 80 pages). I indicated it was almost always in prose (sometimes of the "poetic variety") and it usually told a story, if the word were sufficiently stretched to include those emotionally perceptive pieces where nothing at all happens. After that, it seemed more helpful rather to suggest that the short story, as opposed to the novel, usually kept to the "unities" in the old dramatic sense by maintaining a single line in its plot, character, and setting. Unlike the novel it did not have the length to develop sub-plots, a variety of locations, or secondary incidents. The single incident on which the story concentrated often concerned one character. (Even when, as often, there appears to be two--boy and his mother, husband and wife etc., it is revealing to perceive how the author's concern is rarely one that covers their dual problems--one is more important, the other is the foil against which we measure the reactions of the main person.) This simple observation gives the student his first series of aids. He can look for the centralizing person and can isolate the single event that he is subject to. Even at this point he now has a preliminary grip on the story. Search out the major character and then you have a center and the purposes served by the other figures can be united together by reference to the main one in some sense of rhythm in the structure. The shape begins to be evident and the direction of further examination is indicated.

I divide short stories into two types seen most simply as reverse mirrors of each other: stories where the plot predominates and stories where it is of minimal significance. Or more subtly, stories where the event is external and those where the situation is an internal revelation. By plot stories I mean ones like Somerset Maugham's The Verger or Guy De Maupassant's The Necklace for example. The general weakness of stories of this type, is that the termination takes such overpowering precedence that the solution may become the only justification and rereading is not desired. In its simplest form you have the whodunit where having found out the culprit there is little point in rereading. At other times what appears to be a simple plot story, such as Somerset Maugham's Rain proves to remain fascinating for its characterization and theme which may even have partially escaped notice in a first reading that concentrated too exclusively upon the dramatic plot.

Generally more satisfying and intellectual is the story which probes into the character in such a way that the dénoument is a moment of blazing internal recognition: that moment of psychological revelation that is the most important response of a human being to his life and yet which can be initiated by such an apparently minor incident that for many it becomes lost or ignored in daily life. The child's recognition of adult perfidy in Chekhov's A Trifle from Real Life is a good example. The promise is a "trifle" to the adult; to the boy it shakes the very fibre of his being. Willa Cather's story The Sentimentality of William Taverner is an American example. All that "happens" is that a wife asks her husband for money to send the sons to the circus and yet upon this request Cather posits a totality of self-revelation available to few lucky individuals.

This division serves some purpose, for it directs the student to where things are happening in the story; drives him more deeply into it to see the microcosm of human experience which the author subtly indicates.

At this point I outline some of the elements of writing technique which I divide into three. (1) Position of the author, (2) setting, and (3) character.

(1) Position of the author. The usual divisions are well known so that it is perhaps only vital to explain the different advantages gained from the various methods. There is (a) the omniscient author position, (b) the first person narrative, and (c) the first person observer. (These terms are mine and although they may appear rather awkward they are self-explanatory and their use avoids the creation of new esoteric critical vocabulary.)

(a) The omniscient author method is revealed by the third person pronoun forms he, she, they etc. The author "knows" all the characters, their motivations and their unspoken thoughts and can express them. In exchange for perhaps a fraction less immediacy of response than we might get from an "I" description with which we more easily identify we gain comprehensiveness and detail. Only this style can reveal the internal emotions and intentions of all the characters so that by this method there is the maximum revelation and therefore the broadest examination of the human situation. This may be seen to advantage in Sherwood Anderson's story, Sophistication. His adolescent protagonists are so incapable of articulating their emotional discoveries that without the author's constant interpretations of their dimly comprehended, instictive actions there could be no story at all.

(b) The personal narrative, where the essential character describes his own experience, allows immense self-revelation but that response is by necessity limited and self-distorted. The character can only express his own experiences and interpretation of them. We have to see everything through the distorting mirror of that person's own psychosis. Sometimes this can be handled with incredible skill that makes restriction into a triumph. Faulkner's use of the idiot Benjy as his "eye" offers by the very distortion of the abnormal, the need for us to reexamine our own normality in a way that is jolting to preconceptions. Huck Finn, though less psychological, is based on a similar intention.

(c) The third technique, is when the author "becomes" one of the minor characters seeking to gain the advantages of both methods; the intimacy of the "I" form and the range of observation of the omniscient style. This minor "I" in the story can comment on a series of characters and explore the range of reactions they experience, often acting as some kind of measure by which we establish our moral hierarchy within the story.

The recognition of the presence (or apparent absence) of the author is vital when we come to consider the moral intention of the writer (see below). It is therefore not an artificial exercise to ask the student to seek for the method employed, since from it, the nature of the writer's presentation becomes clearly apparent and the writer's intention is significantly exposed.

(2) The setting of a story can be deliberately precise in its localism or equally carefully vague. A writer with a strong sense of locality such as Sherwood Anderson in his Winesburg stories goes out of his way to define the setting. He deliberately describes the date, the season, the locale, the names of the streets. From this it is assumed that such a reality is established that the events themselves will take on a solid conviction. (An extreme of this belief is the protective shield of realistic scientific data which prepares us to receive the impossible "blob-from-outer-space" in science fiction.) Certainly solidarity of the setting gives a strength to the writing. It can, however, also act restrictively. All literature is simultaneously local and universal: local in that it is fixed in a certain time and place and universal in that it concerns human beings with their inevitable preoccupation with love, death and such imponderables. The danger in stressing the local is that it may exclude understanding and participation. If Anderson's stories so specifically concern Winesburg, Ohio what have they to do with a young foreign student at UCLA? How can we identify with a world that is so demonstrably not ours? The alternative extreme, however, brings its own problems. If we deliberately remain vague in our setting, avoiding the limiting commitment to history and geography and seek the "general"

situation of, say, love, do we not only create vague beings who have no identifying life since they appear to have no location in time and space? There is validity in the universal, but can we find the universal believable if it does not derive from a believable localized culture?

This division is particularly relevant in the case of the foreign student, for the localization of the story will usually be the American element which he will find it most difficult to share. For example, he will certainly recognize the three-way emotional competition between husband, wife and children; woman as mother woman as wife--this must be universal. But, how does he see it within the specifically established Nebraska context of the Willa Cather short story The Sentimentality of William Tavener? Always it will be necessary to guide the foreign student from our local to his universal, and it will sometimes be necessary not only to explain the nature of the local, (all races have marriage, but this kind of marriage?) but sometimes seek an exact transferable equivalent back into their own cultural context.*

(3) Characterization is one of the most important aspects of the short story and since there is not the space for the conventional long description favored by Dickens for example, amongst novelists, and since we invariably begin a short story in media res the devices by which a character is brought to some semblance of life is important for us to recognize. A character will be developed by his own speech and acts, and by the speech and acts of others in relation to him. It is important to stress that nothing may be taken as gospel here, except the external observations clearly made for our elucidation by the author. There by definition, we have the author's "truth." But the remarks of the character, in contrast, may be deliberately conceived to show his own vanity and ignorance or misconceptions. Condemnation of a person by an obvious villain

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* We read in class John Updike's story A&P which describes a young girl innocently going into a supermarket in a bikini and scandalizing the middle-class housewives and the manager. I asked the students to suggest what would be the equivalent in their own culture. The results exposed incomprehension (which no doubt also commented on the inadequacy in the subtlety of my presentation.) One student got it, I thought, just right-- wearing slacks in Mexico City--just enough indecorum to be looked at, though worn without malicious intentions of exposure. Other students contented themselves with observing that any girl who so exposed herself thus in their society would be "stoned," "ridiculed," "arrested," etc. which curiously missed the balanced point where you offended convention but not the law in a way that rather made the convention not its challenger appear ungracious or ridiculous. Thus I, as teacher, did not realize that the students had not got the point until I asked them to explain IN THEIR CULTURAL TERMS what was the issue raised in this story. Africans talking of girls wearing wigs were probably nearer the point I expect--though even there the element of premature boldness misses that unconscious innocence that marks the girl in Updike's story.

becomes antithetical praise within the story's general moral concept. Actions are often described which clearly contradict actual verbal professions. It is valuable for a student to discover that he must not believe anything he reads without considering such elements as source and tone and intention. Contradiction between expression and intention is particularly obvious in parts of Willa Cather's story The Sculptor's Funeral discussed below.

After these more elementary aspects of technique have been expounded one gets to the heart of the problem when one approaches the moral aspects of the story. All great writing is moral in purpose. Not moralistic, in the shabby way of a terminal moral of the "do-as-you-would-be-done-by" quality, but moral in the sense of making a profound statement about the nature of human existence. This morality does not, in fact, have to be an optimistic one. The terminating series of "nadas" of Hemingway's A Clean Well Lighted Place, like King Lear's agonizing repetitious "nevers" is philosophically profoundly nihilist, but none the less profound.

To begin with, it is important to stress that plot and theme are not the same; that plot makes just the trappings for the thematic statement, and that it is the theme not the events which give a story its relevance and stature. One pointed out this is obvious and it is very important in the classroom, since the questioning about plot is the most minimal test of reading comprehension of the "Did he go?..." "Why did he go?" variety. But out of questions about theme, come the most intense discussions of ideas that a university class can undertake. Here, though at this moment I throw it in only as a casual aside, is the only legitimate, ultimate raison d'etre of literary study in any context: That you are forced to contemplate with fresh understanding the ultimates of human experience.

In discussing this all-important question of theme, we are led to examine how the writer establishes his moral context of judgement. In the twentieth century we no longer believe in the hero/villain dichotomy--that you can tell the villain because he wears a black hat or has a long mustache; that he will do no good and our hero no wrong. Our needs are more subtle. Sometimes we see the author's view from a single desirable character. At times we recognize a character's goodness by a reversal when we see him criticized by characters we can recognize as bad--if they hate him he must be good. The examination of the author's point of view is essential, and is not always so easy to discover. Nevertheless the analysis of the story from this angle will often illuminate elements which are concealed but of great importance to the writer's presentation. This generality will be clearer in the context of the story I have selected for particular discussion later.

I feel that the kind of outline which I have made above is helpful to the student in his one vital task--of comprehending a short story to his own intellectual advantage. There is no true/false series of questions here. To decide that a writer is employing the "omniscient author" technique or not is totally irrelevant in itself. What I hope and believe is that these comments upon technique will lead the reader into that intimate and detailed examination from which comes understanding. If, for example, the author is above events (i.e. omniscient) how does he make his own interpretation of events clear to us? It is this intellectual understanding that must justify our presentation of these works for, as I have acidly remarked in the past, if we want only vocabulary and syntax, a telephone directory would make an excellent text. Literature is something else. It makes its impact in the most vital and intimate area of human knowledge. Even with the extra problems of the non-native speaker we must not lose sight of the ultimate reason for our presentation of the works of great men; the important authors. To guide a student toward self-illumination is our only justification. Perhaps these suggestions will prove not a series of restrictive technicalities for their own sake, but tools capable of bringing the foreign student into an exciting awareness of literature in English.

Postscript.

I have had a fair measure of success in teaching with one of Willa Cather's greatest stories The Sculptor's Funeral. It should be reread to appreciate my detailed remarks but as a brief refresher recall how it describes the famous sculptor's dead body being brought by a sorrowing student back to his native Nebraska town Sand City, to the scornful disinterest of all its citizens who are too bigoted and materialistic to comprehend the spiritual grandeur achieved by Harvey Merrick. The story employs the omniscient author technique and the setting is carefully established by description of the Nebraska scene as the train comes in bringing the body from Boston. The idea of the dead returning home for burial was conced by the foreign students to be a universal desire. The technique of characterization was especially interesting because the main character, the sculptor, never, in fact, appears (except as a corpse) and our interpretation of his nature is learned only from what the Sand City people say of him. Their remarks are inevitably critical. They sneer at his education and his lack of farming know-how and inadequate business sense. Yet when we hear their delight in his gullability (that he bought old mules rather than young ones), our disposition is to despise the crooked seller not join them in their enjoyment of Harvey's generous willingness to believe another's lying assertions. The Sand City residents are so clearly drawn as despicable people that their criticisms become reversed into necessary praise. This element is very useful to a teacher for it allows him to point out that our response may be in reverse of what we are told. (How and why this should become a valuable discussion.) The cruel remarks of the citizens as they sit around the coffin at the wake ridiculing the sculptor, shocked all students. "In my country they only say good things about the dead..." etc. But when I pointed out that it was precisely this contradiction of our own code of morals that shocked US, they got the point (another value derived from the cultural comparison). In case we miss Cather's moral standard, the presence of the young apprentice Steavens is used as the outsider whose values we share; the quality by which we measure, and then condemn Sand City. When the body is brought into the house the mother throws an all but hysterical fit of despair. Quite appropriate to a bereaved mother, we may observe. We begin to have doubts of her tone, however, when she says "My boy, my boy! And this is how you have come home to me." But our doubts are subsequently totally confirmed when after her uncontrollable grief, we hear her damning the servant for failing to make the sauce for the chicken supper just right--a problem that would hardly preoccupy the sincerely bereaved. Discovering that the pathetic father looks at his wife "as a spaniel looks at the whip" we learn her real nature even before the other important character Jim, the lawyer, says she "...is a fury; there never was anyone like her for...ingenious cruelty." In this manner, the student learns the way that a character can gradually be developed, changed from our original expectation by remarks from the others; and exposed by his own unconsidered actions. In this story Jim is a vital figure. A man with most of the sculptor's ability but not sufficient of his courage. Thus he can recognize Merrick's achievement but is not able to similarly escape into success himself. Hence his awareness leads to great bitterness yet he, though caught within the malicious and materialistic web of Sand City, becomes, magnificently, its condemner, its prosecutor. After hearing Jim's just denunciation, we have an additional reaction to the ironic ending that Jim dies from a cold caught, while going in winter, to defend the village son who is guilty of stealing government timber. Jim has died in this service of what he has so properly denounced, and in doing so adds one more note of condemnation of Sand City morality.

This story is a good one for discussion of several vital issues, both literary and philosophical. One can begin by asking how localized this problem is--would your village reject the artist in this way--implying is this only a midwest problem? Most tried to say no, but one in the revealing words that in her village, a boy would be encouraged to do whatever he wanted "IF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL THOUGHT THAT THAT WAS THE BEST THING FOR HIM." This I pointed out would have made Harvey Merrick, the internationally famous sculptor into a second-rate farmer--they got the point. If they still insisted that art was highly respected I asked what then in their culture would cause a boy to be rejected--too much education? engineering?

This Willa Cather story also allows discussion of the manner in which a writer presents character. How do we "know" Mrs. Merrick is evil long before Jim says she is--and more generally then why do we believe Jim whom all the locals call a worthless, drunken, shyster lawyer? In other words where does truth lie? Such a question demands the kind of response that can only come from intelligent evaluation and mature judgment. This is even more clear when one gets into a more generalized argument of theme. If Sand City is wrong, as its shabby vicious characters indicate, who is right and what is the basis of Willa Cather's assertion about what you have to consider in organizing your life. This leads one--perhaps too facilely to the question of the "Good Life." By what standards are you forced to live and who decides them? At that point you are at the very nub of experience. No teacher can expect to supply the answers, any more than any writer can give specific advice. But having moved from Sand City, with all its wretched lack of charity and understanding, to a contemplation of the students' own series of choices and decisions in life, we have touched upon the meaning of literature whatever the separate cultural expectations.

The techniques I have outlined above have only begun the intelligent exposure of the issue so subtly and comprehensively raised by Willa Cather. But in passing from the recognition of technical devices into the contemplation of the essential conception of a great writer, interpretation of the world, we have asked the student to examine his own conceptions and prejudices. In helping the student to illuminate these essential elements of the short story we have made such understanding and perception possible and that, ultimately, _pace_ the linguist, is the manifest destiny of the English teacher.

THE ROLE OF RULES[1]

Russell N. Campbell

A number of recent publications[2] have given cause for modern language teachers to reconsider the role of rule-governed behavior in the teaching of foreign or second languages. This morning, I would like to consider with you some of the relevant issues and provide some evidence in favor of providing our language students with rules and generalizations as an initial step in teaching grammatical structures of the target language.

Not too many decades ago two observations were made by some linguists and language teachers that were to find wide-spread acceptance and application in the development of foreign language programs. The first observation was that traditional grammars were inconsistent, inaccurate, and, in general, inadequate representations of modern languages. The second observation was that children in the process of acquiring their first language did so without the use or need of analytical statements or instructions; rather, they learned by inferring rules of grammar (as exemplified in mistakes like "foots, gooder, cutted") by analogy with heard and learned tokens of grammatical sequences.

Some foreign language teachers took the first, some the second and some both as valid and as sufficient reason to repress or totally exclude descriptive or analytical explanatory statements in the teaching of foreign languages. For many, the direct method, the natural method, the audio-lingual method were equated to 'grammarless' methods. The structures of the new language were to be learned as a result of massive opportunity to hear and repeat utterances which contained the structures.

It is quite possible that students of a certain age (say, 11 years old or younger) might, in fact, rapidly and completely learn a second language by some such approach if they have considerable exposure to the language. If so, then let my following remarks pertain to older students such as we have in our junior high, high school, and university classes.

Two non-linguistic examples will help to demonstrate certain advantages in providing the learner with some understanding -- or knowledge -- of what it is that he is expected to learn. The first, a now often quoted example,[3] considers the learning of the following number:

581215192226

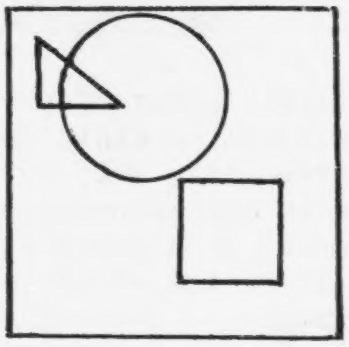
Approached from a 'grammarless' point of view, the students might be asked to repeat the number digit by digit (5, 8, 1, 2, 1, 5, etc.) or perhaps by subgroups of three (581, 215, 192, 226). Multiple repetitions of this sort could succeed in the teaching of the number. However, the success of this method depends to a large extent upon the students' ability to devise a mnemonic device which would permit them to recall the string of numbers. For example, a student might notice that within the sets 581 - 215 - 192 - 226, the first three contain the number 1, and that 1 is the last digit in the first set, the middle number in the second set, and the first in the third set ("The least shall become first"). This is a very weak device, but it might help in the reconstruction of the total number. Bright students often have this ability and within a short time or after a small number of trials would be able to individually reproduce the number. Called upon to produce the same number a week or month after the original learning experience is less likely to be successful unless the invented device has been retained. Slower, less bright, students are correspondingly less likely to invent a device for reconstructing the number and would have more difficulty recalling the number even a very short time after the learning experience. The obvious implication of this discussion is that we, as teachers, should assume what seems to be a natural function of teachers and provide the student with a device which would permit him to recall, reconstruct and be able to evaluate the accuracy (i.e., the grammaticality) of the number. If, for example, as the first step in teaching this number, we were to give the learners the following explanation, even the slowest of students could reproduce it with great facility:

> Notice that the string of numbers 581215192226 is made up of the sub-sets 5-8-12-15-19-22-26 which are separated by regular intervals of 3 and 4 in that order.

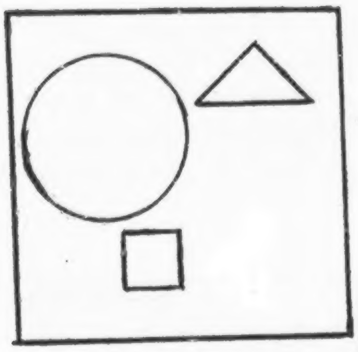
	5+3	8+4	12+3	15+4	19+3	22+4
	"	"	"	"	"	"
5	8	12	15	19	22	26

With this knowledge, the learning phase of the 'grammar' of the string of numbers is accomplished by all students (who can add) in a few moments -- and additional time spent with the number would constitute a very important part of the learning process; namely, the opportunity to practice the application of the rule to permit increased fluency in the production and recognition of the number.

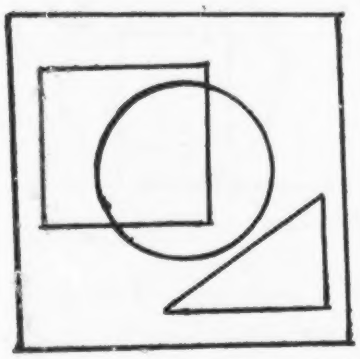
Let me now turn to a second problem. Let's suppose that I have as an objective the teaching of the concept of dut-ness.[4] I shall attempt to do this by presenting certain configurations of geometric figures, some of which are duts and some of which are not. The learner will be expected to apply his observational and deductive abilities to the probelm and, if all goes well, will within a reasonable time learn to recognize and identify duts from non-duts.



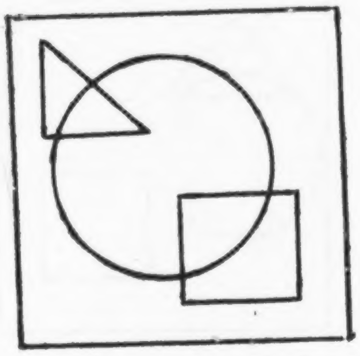
A. This is a dut.



B. This is not a dut.

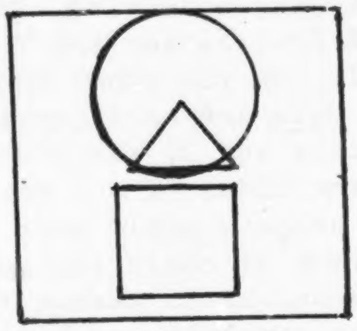


C. This is a dut.



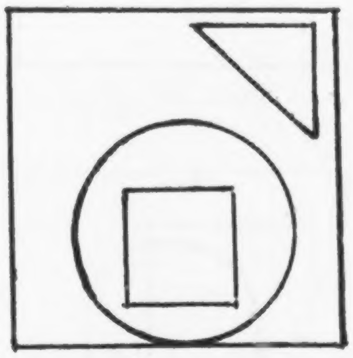
D. Is this a dut? Yes____ No____

If you answered the question at all, it implies that you have formed a hypothesis about what constitutes dut-ness. If you answered no, then you need a new hypothesis. If you answered yes, then you may have "caught on" and now only need a few additional examples to substantiate your hypothesis.



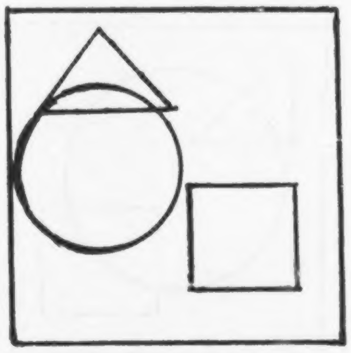
E. Is this a dut? Yes____No____

Perhaps your original hypothesis was this: If two or more of the figures overlap (as they do in the duts A, C, and D), then the configuration is a dut. If so, then your answer to E was yes. You would be wrong -- E is not a dut and you now need to form a new hypothesis. If you answered yes for D and no for E then your original hypothesis has been strengthened.



F. Is this a dut? Yes____No____

If you have formed a new 'guess' as to the nature of dut-ness, it will either be supported or shattered by the information that, yes, F is a dut.



G. Is this a dut? Yes____No____

If you said, yes, G is a dut, then the exercise up to now has been highly unsuccessful in teaching you anything about dut-ness. If you said, no, G is not a dut, either you have solved the puzzle -- or you have formulated a false rule which has happened to work so far but might fail you in the future. In any event, for some, disregarding the possible attractiveness of puzzle-solving, the teaching process outlined above has been a period of frustration and failure and little has been learned about dut-ness. If, on the other hand, at the outset, I had provided a rule such as: Duts are configurations which 1) contain both a square and a right triangle and 2) the sides of the right angle of the triangle are parallel to the sides of any right angle of the square, then the teaching and learning process could have proceeded with maximum efficiency and with a minimum of confusion and despair on the part of the student. It seems very reasonable to assume that we should avoid making the learning process a puzzle-solving guessing game that requires the student to supply the solutions. It further seems reasonable that the student know what is relevant and what is insignificant in the particular learning task. For example, the presence of a circle, or the size of the figures, or the relative positions of the figures, are of no consequence in determining dut-ness. This information could be given from the beginning, thus eliminating the formulation of a large number of false hypotheses. And notice, with knowledge of the rule, the student could now, with assurance of accuracy, construct new duts, just as in our earlier example, given the rule, he could extend the number indefinitely and know that the extension was 'grammatically' correct.

The recognition of systematic relationships among words, phrases, and clauses in the formation and interpretation of sentences suggests that the teaching and learning of these relationships can be greatly facilitated if and when they can be presented to the learner in some comprehensible fashion from the very beginning.

In the preparation of specific lessons in language instruction it seems clearly to be the teacher's responsibility to first ascertain the linguistic facts of the structure or structures to be taught and, second, to prepare explanatory or descriptive statements that provide the learner with knowledge of the structure which he is to learn.

FOOTNOTES

1. With minor modifications, this paper was delivered at a meeting of the English as a Second Language Section of the Modern Language Association of Southern California on March 16, 1968.

2. See especially, William Ritchie, "Implications of Generative Grammar." *Language Learning*, 17 (1967); and, Wilga Rivers, *The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1964); Remunda Cadoux, "Applying the Syllabus to Everyday Practice." *The Florida FL Reporter*, 5.3 (1967).

3. William Ritchie (cf. n.2) quoted this example from Jerome Bruner, "On Going Beyond the Information Given". *Cognitive Processes: Readings*, Harper et al, editors. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall (1957), who in turn quoted it from George Katona, *Organizing and Memorizing*. New York, Columbia University Press (1944).

4. Dennis Auchard of San Jose State College earlier used similar *dut* configurations in, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished experiments in concept development.

RATIONALE FOR TEACHING A SECOND LANGUAGE

Robert D. Wilson

This is the first of a series of essays on a theory of instruction in a second language. A theory of instruction has three components: rationale, strategies, and tactics. Strategies are the general plans by which the general objective of learning a second language is accomplished. Every statement in this component is essential to achieving the objective. Tactics consist of the set of available techniques for implementing the strategies, the sequence in thich they are to be implemented, and guidelines for selecting a particular subset in a particular sequence. Unlike the statements in the component on strategies, not all the techniques are essential. Put differently, techniques are available alternatives for implementing strategies. The rationale is the set of assumptions that forms the basis for the hypothesis, that the strategies set forth in the theory *are* the appropriate ones. This essay is about the rationale.[1]

It is characteristic of theories not to be definitive, and the theory that will be developed in this series of essays is no exception. Nevertheless, theories must be made explicit, if new and better ones are to evolve. And one must be explicit about theory itself. To some, a theory means an explanation, to others, a description. A theory of instruction is neither. It is prescriptive. As Jerome S. Bruner puts it: "A theory of instruction, in short, is concerned with how what one wishes to teach can best be learned, with improving rather than describing learning."[2]

Characterizing a theory of instruction as prescriptive makes the component on strategies the core component, the component which contains the prescriptive statements of the theory. The component on techniques contains guidelines for selecting and sequencing techniques, and the guidelines are prescriptive, if you will, but they are subject to alternative implementations chosen by the practitioner of the theory, the teacher, not by the theory. The rationale contains no prescriptive statements; it explains the prescriptive statements in the component on strategies. One could view the rationale as an independent theory, an explanatory theory that lets us understand a particular theory of instruction. In this view, a theory of instruction would consist of just two components, one on strategies and another on tactics. But this view, will not be taken here. The rationale contains four sets of assumptions: cultural, linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical.

The cultural assumptions are the following. There is no causal relationship between a particular language and a particular culture. History is replete with examples of cultures adopting a foreign language (and making it native) without significantly changing those cultures.[3]

People make an intimate association between a particular culture and the language learned to express it. This association makes probable the following consequence. A second language learned as an expression of the culture of the first language will have characteristics of the first language.

People make an intimate association between a particular culture and themselves. This association makes probable the following consequence. Learning a new language as the expression of a new culture will be considered a threat to the survival of the association between the learner and his native culture.[4]

People can have two (or more) cultures as frames of reference and two (or more) language to express those cultures. That is, they need not give up one to gain another. This implies that a person can have a sense of self that is independent of culture-- though he may be unable to behave without a culture as a frame of reference.

The linguistic assumptions are the following. Language, is an abstract, self-contained system of rules. Put differently, language is not writing, and it is not speech. It is not writing, for otherwise the millions of illiterate people will not have language nor indeed the man with no hands, who presumably cannot write, or the man absolutely blind, who presumably cannot read. It is not speech either, for the deaf and dumb communicate through hand signals, using a form of the same linguistic code as their peers who are not handicapped. Writing and speech are two of the mediums of expression for this abstract system of language rules. This is not to say that medium can not be part and parcel of Language; on the contrary, part of the system of rules of a language is a sub-system that provides for the expression of the language in some medium, which is normally speech.

Language has three components; namely, syntax, which is the core subsystem, phonology, which is the expressive subsystem, and semantics, which is the interpretive subsystem. In other words, the structure which holds everything together is syntax: the rules which string phrases together, the functions of those phrases, and the relationships between sentences. Phonology tells how the strings of phrases are to be pronounced, and semantics how they are to be understood.

Language has four basic relationships. One is function as in the function of the Subject, the function of the Indirect Object, etc., and it is function which underlines the traditional statement that a sentence is a sum greater than its parts. The second basic relationship is transformation, as in the relationship between active and passive sentences, between questions and responses, between two sentences and a compound sentence, etc., and it is transformation which has given rise to the modern concept that in defining the sentence one defines all of language. The third basic relationship is agreement as in the relationship between a demonstrative pronoun this, that, these, those, and the noun it introduces, as in this book versus *this books. To a large extent, it is agreement which ties together the parts of a sentence. The fourth basic relationship is replacement, as in the relationship between a noun phrase and the pronoun which refers back to it. Replacement is one of the ways in which different sentences are put together in connected discourse.

Language has four basic processes: ordering, substitution, deletion, and expansion. Ordering determines the sequences of phrasing in two ways. First, the basic sequence of simple sentences, for example, the subject noun phrase before the predicate verb phrase. Second, it changes the sequence of phrases in more complex sentences, for example, the object noun phrase after the verb in an active sentence becomes the subject noun phrase before the verb in a passive sentence. Substitution allows for the use of all the words and phrases of the same class in the same part of a sentence, as exemplified in "Mary likes dolls" and "Jane likes dolls." Deletion helps to make the use of the language more efficient by permitting the omission of understood words and phrases as in the short responses to questions, for example, in answer to the question "Do you like candy?" the response may be "Yes I do" rather than "Yes, I like candy." Expansion makes for a greater expression of language, as one might observe in the following sentences: "The cat sat on the mat," "The white cat sat on the mat," "The pretty white cat sat on the mat." These processes are essential characteristics of Language in much the same way as rules are. If one admits that mistakes can be made in speaking a language, then rules are assumed. If one admits, for example, that changing a word in a sentence changes the meaning of a sentence, then the process of substitution is assumed.

Language determines the forms that sentences may take, but selecting the forms is determined by conventions of communication, e.g., dialog, narration, correspondence, outline, listing.

Language retains a rule in a system, say of English, if the community of English speakers approve of it by behaving according to the rule's requirements and by not tolerating violations of the rule; otherwise, the rule is changed.

The psychological assumptions are the following. The first assumption is taken from Bruner: "Continuity of learning is dependent upon mastery of the structure of the subject matter."[5]

The second assumption is also from Bruner: "After a century of intensive research, the most basic thing that can be said about human memory is that unless detail is placed into a structured pattern, it is rapidly forgotten."[6]

The third assumption is that "if learning is effectively to transfer, then the situations to which it is to transfer must be real to the learner."[7]

The fourth assumption is that the intellectual processes involved in learning a language are induction followed by deduction. This implies, for example, that the sample of sentences presented in a lesson will provide enough structured data for the inductive, and generally unconscious formulation of the rules set by the objectives, and the activities that follow will provide enough rule governed linguistic behavior for deductive familiarization with the rules set by the objectives.

The fifth assumption is that linguistic performance, in other words, the use of the system of rules of a language, consists of a pair of skills: the first, motor skills, as in the use of the tongue for pronunciation; the second is manipulative skill in handling the processes of language, as in the changing of the form of a statement to a question in a drill. Unlike motor skills, which are physical, manipulative skills are mental in some sense.

The last assumption is that the basic motivation for being predisposed to learning a language is the expectation of being able to actually communicate in that language.

The pedagogical assumptions are the following. The first is obvious, but too often missed. Put briefly and simply, it is this: given the educational objectives (for this guide, mastery of the system of rules of English), the major criterion is efficiency. This is the essence of Bruner's remark that the basic question which pedagogy must answer is the following: "How can material of a certain kind be so presented and so sequenced that it will most readily and most transferably be learned?" [8]

The second is that pedagogy is scientific and creative. It is scientific in that it predicts certain terminal behavior to follow certain intermediate behavior, and tests terminal behavior in the light of the prediction. And it is creative in that it selects, from among several alternatives, the intermediate behavior that will bring about the predicted and transferable behavior most efficiently.

The third is that teaching through speech is more efficient than teaching through writing, indeed, more efficient than through any other medium we know of at present.

The fourth is that every teaching activity is to be understandable and meaningful to the learner if learning is to take place.

The fifth is that teaching one challenging step at a time, each step systematically related to other steps and every step small enough to insure success on the part of the learner, each and every success being rewarded (by the teacher until the learner is capable of rewarding himself) constitutes the most efficient mechanics of pedagogy.

And the last is that contrastive analysis of the native language with the target language provides the basis for deciding which rules of the target language are to be emphasized, for example, in terms of the amount of time spent on them. It does not provide the basis for presenting, through sequencing, the system of the target language.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The notions, rationale, strategies, and tactics modify and expand those presented by E. M. Anthony in "Approach, method, and technique," English Language Teaching 17 (1963), 63-67.

[2] Jerome S. Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1966), 40.

[3] Edward Sapir, Language. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World (Harvest Books) (1921), 213-220.

[4] Wallace E. Lambert, "Psychological approaches to the study of language," Modern Language Journal 47 (1963), 51-62 and 114-121.

[5] Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1960), 16.

[6] Ibid., p. 24.

[7] Percival M. Symonds, What Education Has to Learn from Psychology. New York: Columbia University Press. 3rd Edition (1964), 89.

[8] Jerome S. Bruner, Revolution in Teaching: New Theory, Technology, and Curricula. Eds. Alfred de Grazia and David A. Sohn. New York: Bantam Books (1964), 4.

LINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHING OF PRONUNCIATION

Tommy R. Anderson

The teacher of language has always been influenced by his conception of what language is. If he thinks that language is mostly words, he concentrates on teaching words and measures his success by the size of the vocabulary which his pupils have mastered. If he thinks that language is essentially usage, he devotes most of his time to defining for his students a kind of usage that is acceptable in the community in which they must speak or write and measures his success in terms of the acceptability of the English which his pupils use within their community. If he thinks that language is essentially structure, he concentrates on teaching structure and measures his success in terms of the degree to which his pupils can use linguistic structures efficiently without making mistakes.

These three views of language are not the only ones possible, but each of them has had a profound impact on the teaching of English in the Philippines. A concentration upon vocabulary is the essential feature of traditional language teaching in the Philippines. For a long time teachers and their supervisors have worried about how many words their pupils know and many curricula consist of little more than word lists. A concentration upon usage is the essential characteristic of many of the language textbooks which have been imported for use in the Philippines even though they were originally intended as textbooks for first language learners. In countries where English is the first language of the majority of the pupils in school, a usage-based approach is all that the situation demands. So first language textbooks in English concentrate upon it and attempt to develop in the students some command of educated literary English. A concentration on structure is the essential feature of the second language approach which has had and is having a profound effect upon Philippine language teaching. Materials developed within this approach emphasize the development of appropriate habits of sentence construction and of pronunciation.

Each of these approaches conforms to a stage in the development of linguistic theory. If we trace back our conceptions about language, we find that the earliest observations were made with regard to words and their meanings. Linguists and philosophers of Ancient Greece had already raised many important problems in word meaning relationships by the time of Aristotle, and many of Aristotle's logical ideas can best be understood as extentions and reflections of Greek vocabulary. Much of the linguistics of the Middle Ages and of early modern times was devoted to the same problems of the relationships between words and meanings which the Greeks had struggled with.

In both the Greek and Roman worlds and in our own, a kind of linguistics developed which concentrated upon levels of usage, and in both cases this development was a consequence of democracy. As far as English is concerned, this development began to take place about 1780 when many Englishmen of the lower classes began to gain wealth and influence through industrialization and began to hope that they could be accepted in the high society of their time. They found, however, that their speech branded them as lower class and they began to seek out ways of eliminating this stigma.. In part, the problem was a vocabulary problem, but to a much larger degree, it was a question of pronunciation. The lower class Englishman and the upper class Englishman used largely the same grammar and vocabulary, but they pronounced their language in different ways depending upon region and social class. A careful study of pronunciation, of how sounds are made, soon enabled speech teachers to drill people from the lower classes in an attempt to teach them to pronounce as people from the upper classes pronounced. Shaw's "Pygmalion" or the musical version "My Fair Lady" reflects the kinds of problems and the kinds of procedures which characterized these efforts. In the United States, on the other hand, usage grammar tended to concentrate largely on a few substandard syntactic problems. The actual variation in pronunciation in any one place was too small to be a significant index of correct speech, and there was no accepted prestige dialect as there was in England.

Within linguistics, the study of pronunciation gave rise to several developments. Linguists began to be interested in dialects other than the standard dialect, and research was made into local variations in pronunciation. Linguists began to study how sounds are actually made, and a science of articulatory phonetics developed. Linguists began to be interested in languages other than their own, and they began to study the characteristics of non-European pronunciations. By around 1870, linguistic science had advanced to the point where a sort of standard alphabet was needed to record the kinds of variations which had been found, and so an International Congress of Linguists met in Paris and worked out the famous IPA or International Phonetic Alphabet. With this tool, linguists could describe languages with unprecedented accuracy and completeness, and the success of the IPA gave rise to much new work in linguistics.

The IPA had obvious implications for teaching people to speak correctly. The IPA symbols were related very exactly to the things a speaker does with his speech organs, so if a word could be given in such symbols, the person trying to learn to pronounce it would have an exact record of the way it should sound. All that was necessary in theory was for the speaker to associate the correct sound with each IPA symbol, and so the language teacher became to some extent a teacher of sound and began to rely upon transcriptions as a means of pinning down for leisurely study what the student should say.

As the IPA was used in more and more places for more and more purposes, it became more and more complex. Linguists began to realize that something was required which could simplify this elaborately complex system. At first they were contented with distinguishing between "narrow phonetics" in which every detail was noted down and "broad phonetics" in which only details which were somehow more important than the others were noted down. But it was not clear why some details were important and others unimportant. As linguists began to investigate this, they began to develop a theory of phonemics. Phonemics asserts that sounds are important if they can change meaning. We know that /s/ and /sh/

are different sounds in English because "sell" does not mean the same thing as "shell" and "class" does not mean the same thing as "clash", etc. By 1930 linguists had developed a number of tests for deciding whether differences in pronunciation were important in this sense or not important in this sense, and many of these linguistic tests have been transmitted to second language teaching with only a slight change of emphasis. Our minimal pair drills are simply designed to convince students that some difference in pronunciation really makes a difference in meaning and to give students practice in hearing and saying it.

It should be emphasized that the phonemic principle insists that the sounds of language are organized in terms of contrast. When we teach phonemes, then, we teach contrasts and not simply sounds. We can teach students to pronounce /f/ by telling them what to do and giving them articulatory practice, but this will not teach those students to distinguish between /f/ and /p/ in English. No matter how correctly the student may pronounce "face", if he does not recognize immediately that "pace" means something entirely different, he has failed to learn something important about the two sounds involved. Thus the phonemic principle says that we must teach contrasts and not just sounds. It gives the language teacher another dimension to work with. Teaching sound is important, but teaching sounds alone is not sufficient. We must do more than teach the sound; we must teach our students that one sound is different from the other sounds.

Linguists found other problems in the IPA. It seemed to work well enough for "segmental" sounds, but there were changes in loudness and length and pitch pauses between sounds which were difficult to record. Linguists attempted to apply the phonemic principle to these features also and eventually arrived at a description of English stress in terms of stress phonemes and of English intonation in terms of pitch and juncture. Most linguists were not completely happy with this solution because the phonemic evidence was not very clear at certain points and the system developed seemed to be much more complicated than the patterns which it described suggested it should be. But for the language teacher, the system for noting stress and intonation was a godsend, for it enabled him at least to write down in some way what his students should be saying. The fact that the phonemic principle was not well established for stress and intonation is reflected, however, in the fact that we often teach stress and intonation as sounds and not as contrasts. Our typical procedure is to give students a group of sentences which are stressed in the same way and which have the same intonation pattern and ask them to say these sentences over and over again until the stress and intonation become fixed. Procedurally this is similar to the language teacher who teaches students to say /f/ by having them practice it over and over again as a sound. Procedurally it is different from the language teacher who uses minimal pairs like "face" and "pace" to prove that/f/ is different from/p/ and that the difference is necessary.

Since 1957, linguistics has been increasingly at a kind of crossroads. Many kinds of evidence have shown that language is based upon a set of very abstract rules. In grammar, these rules describe sentence formation as "tree structures" which undergo wholesale changes called transformations before they can actually become sentences. In the study of meaning, it has become obvious that word meanings are not simple but are composed of simpler meanings which have been combined in some way to make up the meaning of the word. In phonology, it has become recognized that sounds themselves are not simple but are made up of combinations of features. Each of these different levels of language is controlled by abstract rules which tell how the pieces may combine with each other and which somehow govern the speech processes. These different sets of rules are unified at the level of the word. It is the word which joins sound and meaning and it is the word which completes the abstract grammatical structure by filling it with substance.

As this view of linguistic structure becomes more fully developed and better established, we can expect it to have two kinds of effects on the teaching of pronunciation. First, the fact that sounds are now viewed as sets of features will certainly lead teachers to attempt to teach distinctive features rather than simply sounds. This is easier to illustrate than it is to explain, so I will show by an illustration how a feature approach to pronunciation teaching will differ from a minimal pairs approach or a sounds approach. Let us return to the /p/ and /f/ distinction for Filipinos once more.

A /p/ is different from an /f/ in many ways, but only one of these ways is significant in an analysis of English distinctive features. The /p/ is a stopped sound while the /f/ is a fricative sound. The Philippine languages do not distinguish between stops and fricatives at any point. That is, not only is there no contrast between /p/ and /f/ in the Philippine languages but there is also no contrast between /b/ and /v/, between /t/ and /th/, or between /d/ and /dh/. Presumably the teacher could create these four contrasts if he could build up in his students a control of just one feature. It no longer makes sense to treat these sounds in terms of four unrelated minimal pairs. Rather, they must be dealt with as a single group in a single lesson for the purpose of developing control of this single differentiating feature. Where we now say,"Hold up one finger if I say /p/ and hold up two fingers if I say /f/," we may soon begin saying "Hold up one finger if I say a stop and hold up two fingers if I say a fricative." We may then go on to drill many minimal pairs for each contrast and many words which are not minimal pairs as well. Put another way, just as the step from sound to phoneme forced us to go from isolated words to minimal pairs, the step from phoneme to distinctive feature will force us to go from minimal pairs to entire sets of sounds. But we are not teaching sounds any more or contrasts any more but rather a distinctive feature opposition.

This first consequence is a fairly obvious one, but the second effect of this new phonology is not at all obvious. We have always known that we could not teach sounds apart fromwords or words apart from sentences or sentences apart from meanings, but up to the present time linguistic theory has kept sounds and words and sentences and meanings relatively separate for purposes of analysis. It has been possible to talk about the sound system of the language as if we could abstract it from the rest of the language. It has been possible to talk about sentence structures as if they could be mastered as a thing in themselves. This kind of abstraction has led to a kind of language teaching which is fragmented in many important respects. We have pronunciation drills, grammar drills, vocabulary work, and free language activities neatly compartmentalized and all too often insulated from each other in our present curriculum. The new approach in linguistics makes it painfully obvious that this is a mistake. Furthermore, it centers our attention upon the word as a crucial unifying link in the development of linguistic skills. When we hear language, we must recognize its words before we can do anything else in the processes of understanding it. When we speak language, we must choose words before any of the other processes become appropriate. To put it another way, we must recognize words before we can interpret linguistic sounds and we must select words before we can produce linguistic sounds. I think that we are in for a period of linguistic theory in which we will have to concentrate a great deal on how words are selected and on how they are recognized. In language teaching, this should lead to a renaissance in vocabulary teaching.

But, and this is very important, we are not going back to an emphasis on sheer quantity. Neither are we going to emphasize the development of words just because they are frequently used. The renaissance in vocabulary teaching is going to develop around two precise technical questions. What does a student need to know if he is to choose an appropriate word? What does a student need to know if he is to recognize the words he hears? Put in one sentence, the answers to these questions will be, "He needs to know and be able to use the abstract set of semantic and phonological rules which made it possible for speakers of the language to create those words in the first place."

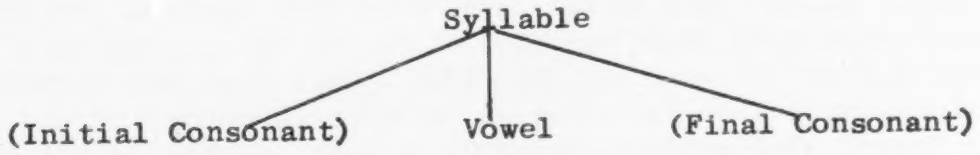
Think about these two questions and their answers for a moment. The questions imply that any speaker of a language has the capacity to recognize words -- not just the words he knows or the words he has heard and used before, but any words and all words. In an appropriate situation, he can "learn" any word by recognizing its form and creating a meaning for it out of the context. He can make up a new word which has never been used by anybody before and use it and be understood the first time by an audience who are totally unfamiliar with the word he is using. He can do this, however, only if he knows the rules for word making and word recognizing and word interpreting in the language he is speaking. If he knows these rules, his vocabulary is limited only by his experience. If he does not know these rules, his vocabulary is limited by the words he has memorized. Thus any procedure for teaching the words of a language can be evaluated on the basis of the actual control which it gives students over the underlying sets of rules.

The fact that there are two questions reflects the fact that there are two different sets of rules to be learned. One set of rules concerns the meaning of words and has to do with choosing words from a situation and with interpreting them after they have been recognized. The other set of rules has to do with the pronunciation of words after they have been choosen and with their recognition after they have been spoken. In this, recognition is much more important than pronunciation, so we can rephrase the question for a pronunciation teacher in this way. What does the student have to know about pronunciation in order to be able to recognize any word that he might ever hear? One obvious specific answer is that he has to be able to hear all of the necessary distinctive features of the language. Another obvious answer is that he must know how words are made in terms of their pronunciation structure.

The pronunciation structure of a word consists of several parts. A word consists of one or more syllables, so the structure of the syllable is a part of pronunciation structure rules. As a lexical item, a word contains a definite stress pattern, and there are clearly patterns which are permitted and patterns which are not, so pronunciation structure must contain rules to govern stress assignment. Some words are grammatically simple (for example, "black" and "bird"), but others are grammatically complex because they have been derived from simple words by rule-governed processes of derivation (for example, "blacken", "birdie", "blackbird), so pronunciation structure must contain rules which control the ways in which the materials brought together by derivational processes are combined. A great deal of new insight has been gained in these areas within the last few years, but very little of it has been explicated for the language teacher or reflected in his materials. For example, consider the possibilities inherent in what we know about syllable structure.

Suppose we are talking over the telephone and the connection is very bad. Under such conditions, telephone engineers have found that some sounds are easier to recognize than others. We can generally tell vowels from consonants even if we can not tell what the vowels and consonant themselves are. If we can hear a little bit more, we can probably distinguish low vowels from mid and high vowels and front vowels from vowels which are not front vowels. We can probably distinguish sibilants (/s, sh, z, zh, ch, j/) and sonorants (/m, n, ng, l, r, y, w/) from the other consonants. If reception gets a little better, we can begin to distinguish more details within the sound until finally when the reception is good, we can distinguish each sound the speaker says from any other sound that he says. What is happening here is simply that as reception gets better, we are able to distinguish more and more features of the sound. We distinguish vowels from consonants on the basis of a sound feature, +Vocalic vs. -Vocalic. We distinguish sibilants from other consonants on the basis of a feature, + Sibilant vs. - Sibilant. Some of these features are much easier to hear than others, so it seems likely that they are much more basic to language than others, and an observation of the languages of the world seems to bear this out. With one possible exception, every language needs to distinguish between vowels and consonants, but there are many languages which do not need to distinguish between stops and fricatives.

If we are to account for these facts in an abstract set of rules, one of the easiest ways to do it is to visualize the syllable as a kind of branching diagram or "tree". The first division in the tree for an English syllable must show the very important distinction between vowels and consonants. The vowel is at the center of the syllable and it may have a consonant or a group of consonants on either side of it. We can draw it this way.



If this is all that we can hear over a faulty telephone connection, then we can count the number of syllables that a person says, but we will not be able to recognize very much of his message.

The consonants of English divide themselves into three large groups in terms of the way we hear them. One group of consonants has many of the same qualities as vowels have. They are all voiced but they are not stops or fricatives. In this group we can put /m, n, ng, l, r, y, w/. A second group of consonants which are very quickly distinguished are the sibilants. The stops and fricatives /p, f, b, v, t, th, d, dh, k, g, h/ make up the third group. These three groups depend upon the ability to hear two features, +Sonorant vs. - Sonorant and +Sibilant vs. -Sibilant. Since each of these classes of consonant has its own place within the initial and final consonant groups of English, we can use these distinctive features to describe English syllable structure as well as to describe English sounds. English initial consonants and consonant clusters must look like this.

Initial Consonants

$$(+ \text{Sibilant}) \qquad \begin{bmatrix} - \text{Sibilant} \\ - \text{Sonorant} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (+ \text{Sonorant})$$

We can take any selection from this that we want. All three are illustrated by an English word like "spray". If we leave out the sonorant, we get words like "stay". If we leave out the sibilant, we get words like "tray". If we leave out the middle consonant, we get words like "slay". In "say" we have left out both the middle consonant and the sonorant. In "day" we have left out the sibilant and the sonorant. In "lay" we have left out the sibilant and the middle consonant. The same sort of thing can be done for final consonant clusters but the result is much more complicated because there are many more possible combinations. The longest existing final consonant clusters represent a choice of any four elements from the following list.

(Sonorant)
(Sonorant)
(Not sonorant, Not sibilant)
(Not sonorant, Not sibilant)
(Sibilant)
(Not sonorant, Not sibilant)
(Sibilant)

In "worlds" we have chosen four of the first five while in "bursts" we have chosen the first and the last three.

But, of course, if a speaker of English hears just this much of the tree of a syllable, he knows much more than what we have said. If he hears "Sibilant, Not Sibilant, and Not Sonorant, Sonorant, Vowel", he knows one of the sounds completely, for the sibilant must be /s/. No other sibilant is allowed in that position. He doesn't have to hear any more to know that the word begins with /s/. He knows that the next sound must be /p/ or /t/ or /k/, for these are the only sounds which are allowed to come between an initial /s/ and an initial sonorant. He knows that the sonorant can not be a nasal because nasals are not allowed in that position. And because he knows all this, he doesn't have to listen for it. He doesn't need to try to distinguish /p/ from /b/ by hearing whether or not it is voiced because he knows that it will not be voiced. He does not try to distinguish /s/ from /z/ or /l/ from /n/ because he knows that /s/ is possible and /z/ is impossible, that /l/ is possible and /n/ is impossible, etc. He can concentrate his attention, therefore, on getting just the features that he needs in order to understand the word. He must hear whether the middle consonant is alveolar or not alveolar. If the middle sound is alveolar, he has already identified the initial cluster as /str/, for there are no other choices, but if the middle sound is not alveolar, then he will test it to see if it is labial and he will go ahead and test the sonorant to see if it is alveolar.

We have to take this account of hearing seriously. Modern psychologists and computer programmers have shown us many good reasons to suppose that the ear actually hears by applying a series of tests like the ones we have been talking about. The tests which are appropriate for one language, however, are not appropriate or even useful for another language. The tests which are needed for efficiently recognizing the words in a language must be taught by the pronunciation teacher when he is teaching pronunciation to his students. They must be taught in such a way that his students can apply them in the right order and make correct inferences from the results. When the tests are properly applied and properly sequenced, the students will hear efficiently, but when the tests are not all applied or are applied in the wrong order so that more actual testing has to be done than the native speaker would do, the hearing efficiency drops. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that native speakers of a language can hear better under conditions of noise than second language speakers generally can. The reason for this should now be obvious. The second language speakers are not making as many inferences as the native speakers are making and must hear more of the actual sound to make up for it.

Several practical consequences flow from this for the language teacher. First, syllable structure and the ability to recognize and produce consonant clusters is probably much more important in word recognition than anyone has suspected it to be. Position within a syllable can make a great deal of difference in how much of a sound must actually be heard before the sound can be identified, and there is no doubt that hearers make use of this to improve their efficiency, so there is no doubt that we can improve our teaching of pronunciation by a little more concentration on syllable structure.

The second point is an old one but it takes on a new urgency in this context. The student recognizes a word by matching it up with what he hears, so the testing that goes on in the ear must also help the student search through his vocabulary for the right word. If we have taught him the sound system at the very beginning of his language learning, he will classify the words in his vocabulary according to the appropriate pattern of tests which have to be made. But if we teach him a lot of words and then start to teach about pronunciation later, he is going to have all of those words misclassified in his vocabulary. The pattern of tests which we are trying to get him to apply in using the new set of pronunciation rules will apply well enough to new vocabulary, but the new tests will not lead him to usable identifications in the old vocabulary because the old vocabulary is classified according to a different system. Hence he cannot "unlearn" the old habits because he still needs them to recognize the old words and he cannot use the new tests consistently because they do not always lead to word identification. He must use both and be less efficient. Imagine trying to use a dictionary where some but not all of the p's and f's are alphabetized together in one list and where some but not all of the b's and v's are alphabetized together in another list, etc. If the ordinary dictionary of English were as thoroughly misalphabetized as its counterpart in the heads of many Filipino students is misphonemicized, it would take days to look up a word in the mess, for it could occur in dozens or hundreds of different places. Surely Filipino students are not helped in recognizing words by the fact that negligent teachers have allowed such a middle to grow up on the mistaken impression that the most important thing was to rush the child into self-expression and give him a lot of half-known words. We must absolutely teach the sound system of the language first and enlarge the student's vocabulary second. In an interesting experiment, the United States Army has recently trained a group of soldiers to take radio messages in Russian down stenographically. One half of this group was given intensive training in Russian for six months. The other half spent three months learning to take down what were for them meaningless Russian sounds until they could do it accurately and were not allowed to begin studying Russian until they could take down the sounds accurately. Then they began to study what the sounds might mean, and very quickly passed the group who had been studying Russian from the beginning in their comprehension of what they were writing down. We need much more experimentation on this and particularly experimentation on young children, but it might turn out to be that we could master the sounds and the vocabulary of a language more effectively if we only had to struggle with one set of abstract rules at a time. That is, if we could somehow separate pronunciation study from the study of meaning until we had really mastered the pronunciation mechanism, our study of meaning might go much faster and our study of pronunciation might go much faster too. But the separation would have to be complete. The partial separation afforded by independently conceived pronunciation drills would not be enough.

MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING: THE IRREGULAR PAST TENSE IN ENGLISH

Earl Rand

I. Introduction

There is little empirical evidence that basing the sequence of language items based on a linguistic analysis of the language aids the student in learning the target language.[1] Yet we all believe that it somehow helps to teach similar items together. For example, in phonology, we teach /θ/ and /ð/ versus /t/ and /d/ rather than first /θ/, then /t/, and then sometime later /ð/ and /d/. And we teach aspiration with all initial stop phonemes of English, not just /p/ in one lesson and /t/ and /k/ in later lessons. We do this because we believe that we are teaching a system and that if the students know the system, then they will more easily retain the individual items of the language.

This experiment which I am describing here does not lend empirical support to the above belief. The evidence does not support the notion that if students receive explicit information and practice on the subcategories of English irregular verbs, then they will perform better than other students who have practiced the same verbs in random order and without explicit information.

2. Description

The experiment can be described as follows: Thirty-four adult students in the elementary English for foreign students course at UCLA (English X832) were randomly assigned to two groups of seventeen subjects each. The groups are here titled "R" (for "random") and "C" (for "categorized"). Both groups were given lessons on the past tense forms of seventy-eight English irregular verbs (listed in Appendix 1). Both groups were given identical pre-, mid-, and post-tests. Both groups were given in the language laboratory the same amount of practice on the same verbs in the same sentences which were cued by the same set of stick-figure pictures. The laboratory tapes were made by the same two native speakers of English. The only difference was this: Group R received the verbs in random order, and Group C received the verbs in ten subgroups with explicit information before each subgroup was drilled. The vowel change between the base form and the past tense form of each of the ten subclass of verb was pointed out to Group C. The ten subgroups are listed in Appendix 1.[2]

As a distractor, the subjects were told that the experiment was designed to determine the usefulness of pictures in learning English irregular verbs. They were requested not to study the verbs outside class. They were asked to guess in every case, i.e., not to leave blanks on the test. Wrong answers were not subtracted from right answers. Correction of the tests had to be somewhat subjective--what was wanted was some indication that the subject knew the vowel nucleus of the past tense form, and thus correct spelling was not necessary.

3. Schedule and Procedure

The experiment took approximately twenty minutes a day for eight school days. The schedule and procedure can be briefly outlined. For each test and drill, three sample drill items with *take-took*, *go-went*, and *make-made* were first given as examples. The numbers refer to the days.

1. Monday--subjects were given the pre-test consisting of twenty-six of the seventy-eight verbs, randomly selected. A picture accompanied each item. In place of *go* was the plain form one of the twenty-six verbs given as a pre-test. The test frame was as follows.

    1. Did he *go* yesterday?
    2. (Five second pause for the subjects to write the past tense form only.)

2. Tuesday--subjects were drilled on Tape #1. The drill was of the A-B-C-B type. Two speakers made the tape. The student also wrote the past tense form of each of the seventy-eight verbs.

    1. Cue: Did he *go* yesterday? (Speaker A)
    2. (Pause for subjects response to the question)
    3. Confirmation: No, but he *went* last week. (Speaker B)
    4. (Pause for subjects to repeat #3)

3-4. Wednesday and Thursday--subjects were drilled on Tape #2. Because the subjects made numerous spelling errors, on the second day, the drill included spelling. Explicit information on verb classes was given to Group C. The example here is with "shake."

    1. Spelling and cue: shake-shook s-h-o-o-k
       I never saw him shake the mop. . . . (Speaker A)
    2. (Pause for subjects' response and for their writing down s-h-o-o-k)
    3. Confirmation: . . . . the way he shook it yesterday. (Speaker B)
    4. (Pause for subjects to repeat #3)

5. Friday--the subjects were given the mid-test consisting of twenty-six of the fifty-two verbs not on the pre-test.

    1. Did he *go* yesterday?
    2. (Five second pause for subjects to write the past tense form only.)

Saturday and Sunday--no class.

6-7. Monday and Tuesday--Drill on Tape #3.

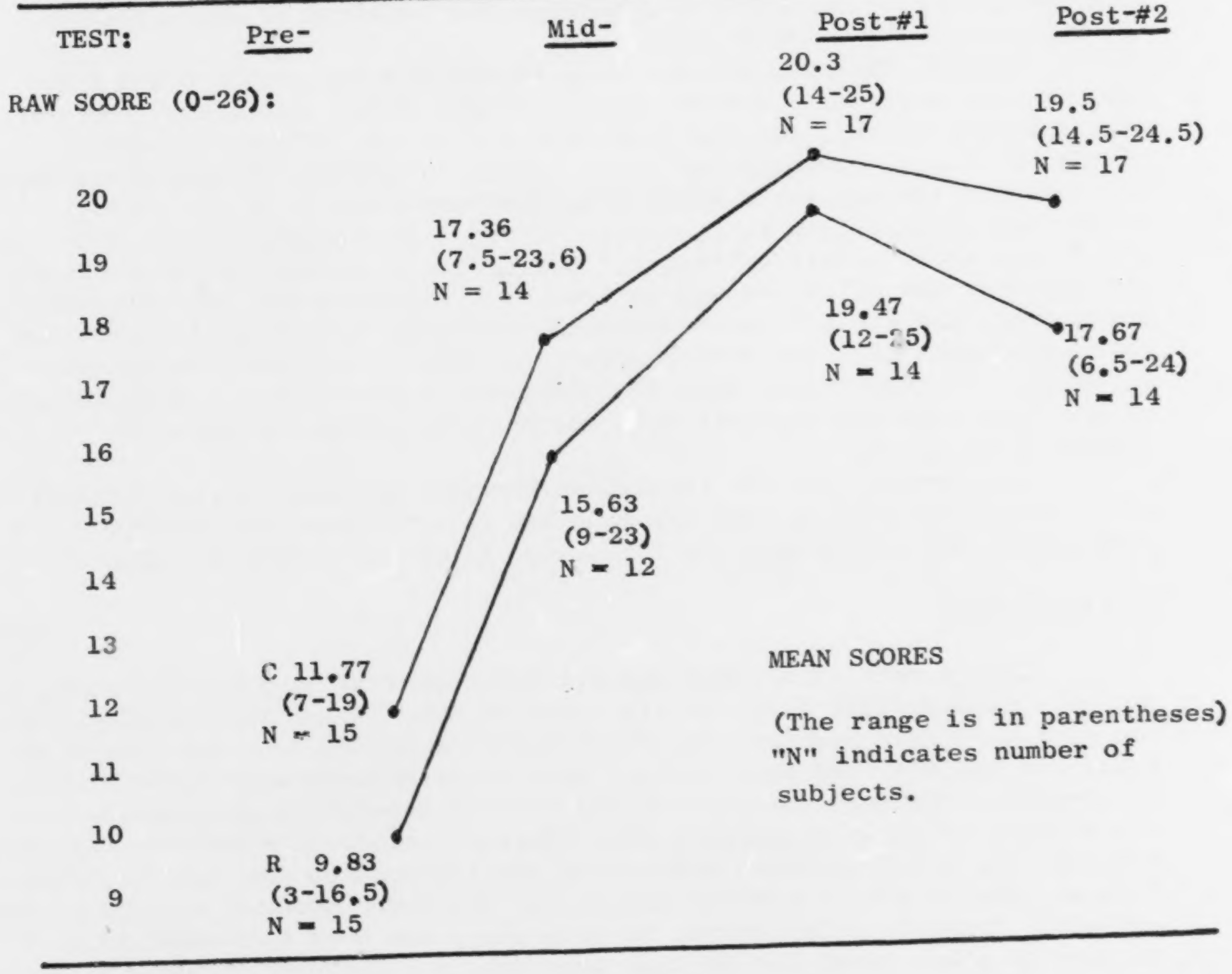
    1. Spelling and cue: shake-shook
       s-h-o-o-k Does he shake the mop every day? (Speaker A)
    2. (Pause for subjects' response and for their writing down s-h-o-o-k)
    3. Confirmation: No, but he shook it yesterday. (Speaker B)
    4. (Pause for subjects to repeat #3)

8. Wednesday--the subjects were given the two post-tests. Post-test #1 consisted on the twenty-six remaining verbs (not on the pre- or mid-tests) of the original seventy-eight. Post-test #2 consisted of twenty-six randomly selected from the fifty-two on the pre- and mid-tests.

1. Did he go?
2. (Five second pause for the subjects to write the past tense form only.)

4. Results

The individual scores are given in Appendix 2. The mean raw scores can be charted:



5. Discussion

First, the initial differences could reflect a significant difference in ability or previous training. The difference is quite large, and, had I known before the second day of the experiment, I would have randomized the sample of thirty-four subjects again in order to minimize the initial differences. Thus, it seems clear to me that the differences on the mid- and post-tests can be accounted for by differences in terms of the samples, the initial differences in ability or previous training of the two seventeen-subject groups. This is to say that though the original thirty-four subjects were randomly assigned to Groups C and R, in this experiment, randomization didn't work: the difference between Groups C and R on the pre-test was large enough to make me very suspicious of the results of the experiment. Thus, there is a confounding factor of selection: the differences between Groups C and R, on the mid- and post-tests cannot be attributed to the different treatments the groups received in this experiment, i.e., the difference between the sequence of and explicit information on the seventy-eight verbs.

Second, the mean average differences between groups C and R on the mid- and post-tests are not large enough, though bunched at the top of the scale, to rule out the possibility that the differences arose merely by chance, randomly ten times out of a hundred. Though the differences are constant (on all tests Group C out-performed Group R) the average difference in each case is too small to rule out the possibility that the difference arose merely by chance. Consequently, though the differences are constant and almost enough to lead us to suspect that categorization, sequencing, and explicit information do actually influence learning, the null hypothesis that the differences arose merely by chance cannot be rejected. The hypothesis that the differences arose because categorization of the materials and explicit information helped those in Group C cannot be accepted.

In summary, (1) the initial difference is large and may reflect a difference in ability, and (2) mid- and post-differences, though consistent, are not large. In this case, linguistics didn't help.

6. Conclusions

Though this experiment doesn't indicate that linguistics helps, it does not make me lose faith in its value to ESL. Note, for example, that the mortality rate was far less for Group C--more C's than R's stayed in class for the mid- and post-tests. This is consistent with Byron Black's and Bradford Arthur's observation and Russell Campbell's conclusions in his article in these Workpapers that explicit information on the linguistic bases of the drill promotes motivation and interest on the part of adults. I think that we should make it obvious to the older student what he is doing and why. Explicit information, in this case, may have motivated Group C to come to class every day on time (the data was gathered during the first part of the class period).

What should be done now? First, I think that the experiment should be replicated, and this time initial differences should be minimized. Second, another component to the post-test should be added. I would like to discover whether the groups differ in their ability to generalize from the ten subclasses taught here to other irregular verbs of the same subclasses. Twenty-six other verbs of the same ten subclasses are listed in Appendix 3. Third, I would like to know how much pictures, say stick-figures, aid in the retention of lexical idiosyncrasies, i.e., is aural cueing as effective as visual cueing?

No matter what we language teachers do, some students seem to learn. But surely not everything we do is equally efficient. Not everything we do focuses the students' attention with equal firmness on the objective to be learned. With the thousands of foreign students coming to our classes each year, we have a unique opportunity to obtain much empirical data on learning ESL.

APPENDIX 1. VERB CLASSES

I. A - A
1. beat
2. cut
3. hit
4. hurt
5. knit
6. set
7. shut
8. split
9. spread
10. thrust
11. lend
12. send
13. spend
14. dwell
15. spill

II. /ay/ ---> /i/
16. bite
17. light
18. slide

III. ---> /e/
19. bleed
20. meet
21. read
22. leave
23. leap
24. sleep
25. sweep
26. dream
27. deal
28. fall
29. hold
30. say

IV. ---> /æ/
31. shrink
32. sink
33. stink
34. ring
35. spring
36. begin
37. swim
38. run
39. spit

V. ---> /ə/
40. fling
41. string
42. wring
43. slink
44. spin
45. win
46. strike
47. dig

VI. ---> /ɔ/
48. bear
49. tear
50. wear
51. fight
52. see
53. bring
54. think
55. catch
56. lose

VII. ---> /ey/
57. come
58. give
59. lie

VIII. ---> /ow/
60. sell
61. tell
62. freeze
63. speak
64. steal
65. drive
66. ride
67. write
68. shine
69. break
70. wake
71. choose

IX. ---> /uw/
72. blow
73. draw
74. fly
75. slay

X. ---> /aw/
76. find
77. grind
78. wind /waynd/

APPENDIX 2a. RAW SCORES FOR GROUP C

SUBJECTS	Pretest	Midtest	Posttest (26) A	Posttest-B
ABOUL CHAMAT	12.5	20	21.5	21
BERHAGHI	--	7.5	14.5	18
HINE	12	15	17.5	19.5
ISRAEL	9	20.5	25	24
LYMBERAS	14	15	22.5	20.5
MILUSEVA	7	17	15	22.5
PERERINI	8	--	14	15
POONYANUNT	18	23	25	23
URAGI	10	15	18	14.5
ABOUMBCRISTIANS	10	--	17	14.5
DANNEBAUER	19	23.5	23.5	23.5
ELLIS, R. L.	8	--	23.5	15
GASPAR	13	16.5	16.5	18
ISASHITA	17	20	25	24
KIKUCHI	12	16	19	19
MOSHERIAN	--	20	23	19.5
RODRIGUEZ	7	14.5	20	19.5
TOTALS	176.5/15	241/14	340.5/17	331/17
MEANS	m = 11.77	m = 17.36	m = 20.03	m = 19.47

APPENDIX 2b. RAW SCORES FOR GROUP R

SUBJECTS	Pretest (26 Items of 78)	Midtest (26 Items of 52)	Posttest-A (Final 26 Items)	Posttest-B (26 Items from Pre- and Mid-Tests)
GEORGESCU, E.	16.5	11	19	16.5
ALVAREX, E.	11	16	23.5	19.5
CARRILLO, T.	3	13	13.5	10.5
KEYHAN, J.	16	--	25	24
PENNA, L. C.	8	20	22.5	22
TZELISI, M.	10	22.5	--	--
VALENZUELA, I.C.	13	16.5	19	20.5
NAND, J.S.	10	--	18.5	21
DITTRICH	9	10.5	22.5	19
HALOOSEM	5	13.5	16	15.5
IRAGUI	8	11.5	19.5	18
NAKANISHA	14	21	24	23
OROPESA	15	23	23	24
SEVILLA	3	--	12	6.5
MESINGER	5	9	15	7.5
TOTAL	146.5/15	187.5/12	273/14	249.5/14
MEANS	m = 9.83	15.63	19.5	17.67

APPENDIX 3. VERBS FOR GENERALIZATION TEST

This list of twenty-six verbs, not included with the original seventy-eight verbs, could be used as a third post-test to ascertain whether groups C and R differ in their ability to generalize from the known verbs to unknown verbs.

1. burst
2. cast
3. put
4. bend
5. build
6. hide
7. feed
8. lead
9. creep
10. kneel
11. drink
12. sing
13. sit
14. cling
15. sling
16. hang
17. bind
18. swear
19. buy
20. teach
21. eat
22. weave
23. dive
24. stride
25. rise
26. throw

FOOTNOTES

1. This is a report of an experiment I undertook in November, 1967, at UCLA. I would like to thank Stephen A. Silverstein and Judy Bell, the teachers of the elementary English students used as subjects, for their assistance and cooperation.

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2. A complete categorization of English irregular verbs can be found in: Rand, Earl, "The irregular verb: a classification for teachers," English Teaching Forum, 3 (Summer, 1965), 14-18.

Rand, Earl, Constructing Dialogs, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. (to appear, 1968.)